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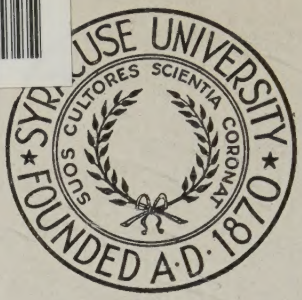

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Heroes of the Reformation

EDITED BY
Samuel Macauley Jackson
PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.
DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS, BUT THE SAME SPIRIT.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI

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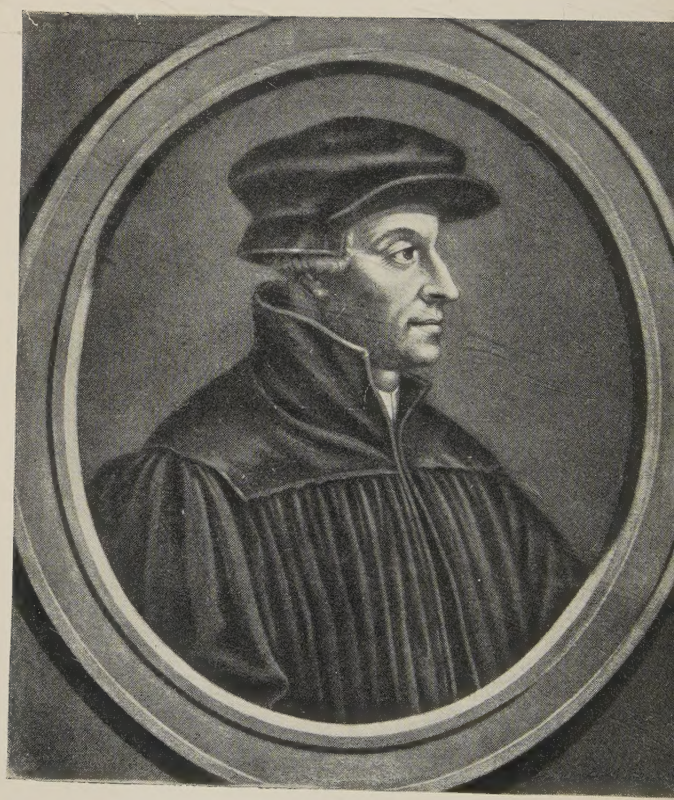

HULDRICH ZWINGLI.

FROM A MEZZOTINT BY R. HOUSTON.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI

THE REFORMER OF GERMAN SWITZERLAND

1484–1531

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BY

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON
PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

TOGETHER WITH

An Historical Survey of Switzerland before the Reformation, by Prof. John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University ; and a Chapter on Zwingli's Theology by Prof. Frank Hugh Foster, University of California

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1901

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SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

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TO

MY BROTHER

71073

PREFACE

IN 1872 or 1873, the author, who was at that time a student in the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, heard that most inspiring teacher, Professor Roswell Dwight Hitchcock, say, in passing, while lecturing on Church history, that Zwingli's theory of the Lord's Supper was "a low, thin view," and that Zwingli himself was "a much-neglected man." These remarks turned the author's attention to Zwingli, and ever since he has been interested in him.

In 1895, the author projected the series upon "The Heroes of the Reformation." It was taken up by the present publishers in January, 1896. The author began this book on the 10th of February of that year, but composition upon it has been frequently interrupted and the manuscript laid aside for months at a time. Its sources are fully revealed in the references and notes. Of these sources the chief have been the letters by and to Zwingli, filling two volumes in the modern edition of his complete works; the contemporary history of the Reformation in Switzerland by Heinrich Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli; the Acts of the Council of the City of Zurich during the period covered by the volume, and the similar collection of the Acts of the Councils

in other cities for the same period. These scour
studies have been made independently but under t
direction of the three biographies of Zwingli wort
of the name and of their theme, viz., those by Ra
Christoffel (Elberfeld, 1857; excellent English tra
lation by John Cochran, Edinburgh, 1858), by Joha
Caspar Moerikofer (Leipzig, 1867–69, two volum
and by Rudolf Staehelin (Basel, 1895–97, two v
umes); and to these works the author would h
pay his tribute of profound respect. He could
have written this book without them. Like Stae
lin he has built his book upon the Zwingli cor
spondence, but he had adopted this plan before
began to read Staehelin. Much help has also be
afforded by the monographs quoted in the not
and especially by *Zwingliana* (Zurich, 1897, *sq*
the semi-yearly organ of Zwingli studies, star
and ably carried on by the enthusiastic and th
oughly competent Zwingli student, Professor Eg
of the University of Zurich.

This book is a biography of Zwingli. The text
intended to give to the general reader the princip
facts of his life, while the numerous notes, *excursu*
and references are intended for special student
It is also as much as possible matter of fact. Fe
statements in it are in the least conjectural, an
nothing has been put into it in the way of rhetori
or to occupy space. The author has tried to be im
partial and certainly has avoided eulogy. Th
book is also restricted to the work of its subject, an
is not a history of the Reformation in Zurich—muc
less in Switzerland — except so far as Zwingli wa

directly active in it. Moreover, it is not an exposition of Zwingli's theology, philosophy, and ethics, for almost all that the volume contains on those themes is found in Professor Foster's chapter and in the Appendix.

When the volume was begun the author had the design to publish a complete English translation of the writings of Zwingli. To this end he had a complete translation made of the Zwingli correspondence and of a number of the treatises. It is not now at all likely that the project spoken of will be carried out, except in a partial way, but the author is able, through the generosity of his publishers, to include in this volume Zwingli's sermon which was the first printed defence of the Reformation already begun in Zurich, translated by Prof. Lawrence A. McLouth of the New York University; and Zwingli's Confession of Faith, the last in the translation of the Rev. Prof. Dr. H. E. Jacobs, by his kind permission. In this connection the author calls attention to Professor Reichenbach's translation of Zwingli's "Christian Education" (Collegeville, Pa., Thompson Brothers, 1899), and to the announcement that the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania will publish shortly after the appearance of this volume a number of treatises of Zwingli's which the author had translated for his projected complete translation mentioned above, namely:

I. From the Zurich German, by Lawrence A. McLouth, Professor of German in New York University: (1) The Colloquy of January 23, 1523,

between the delegation from the Bishop of Constance, the local clergy, and Zwingli, wherein the scope of the proposed Reformation was first set forth, attacked, and defended; (2) Zwingli's Marriage Ordinance of May 10, 1525.

II. From the Latin by Henry Preble: (1) Zwingli's account of the visit of the delegation from the Bishop of Constance on April 7–9, 1522, to investigate the rising reform movement in Zurich; (2) The petition of certain of the Zurich clergy, written by Zwingli, to the Bishop of Constance, to be allowed freely to preach the Gospel, and more especially to marry (1522); (3) Zwingli's attack upon the Baptists (1527); (4) The Colloquy of Marburg, 1529; (5) The Introduction to Isaiah (1529).

To these he has added the translation from the Latin he made himself of the life of Zwingli by Oswald Myconius, Zwingli's bosom friend and ardent admirer. It is interesting but defective, and its statements need to be controlled by later researches.

In order to get local colouring and photographs and to see Zwingli manuscripts, the author made, in the summer of 1897, a special journey to all the places in Switzerland which are associated with Zwingli, and also to Marburg in Hesse. An account of this journey appeared in the New York *Evangelist*, for June 9, 1898.

The four years of intimate association with Zwingli which the author has enjoyed have greatly increased his respect for the man. But though Zwingli has won his high regard, he is unable, through his own

inability, perhaps, to appreciate greatness, to value him so highly as some do. He does not put him in the front rank of the great men of the world, nor in Reformation history on equality with Luther and Calvin. His defects are patent; his literary work is so frequently marred by haste that while it served its immediate ends well it has less interest for the after world; in his treatment of the Baptists he followed only conventional lines and was prejudiced and cruel—the author is himself not a Baptist—his jealousy of Luther was a mark of weakness; in the latter part of his life he was more a politician than he should have been. But on the other hand he led the Reformation movement in German Switzerland, and spent his days in the service of his conception of the truth. He was a generous, self-sacrificing, lovable character, whose politico-religious writings reveal the stalwart Swiss who could not be bribed to silence, the man who saw clearly the cause of his country's decline, but who loved his country in spite of all her faults with a passionate devotion, and for her sake laid down his life. It is as a man, as an indefatigable worker, as a broad-minded scholar, as an approved player of a large part on a small stage, that the author admires Zwingli and commends him to others. Whether he was right in his theology the author does not here discuss; nor is he at all concerned to expound and defend his distinctive teachings. But he believes that if the four great continental Reformers—Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin—should appear to-day, the one among them who would have to do least

to adapt himself to our modern ways of thought, and the man who would soonest gather an enthusiastic following, would be Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland.

It remains now to acknowledge with hearty thanks the co-operation of a number of persons among whose friends the author would fain ask to be numbered. First of all he must give his thanks to the authors of the introductory and supplementary chapters, Professors Vincent and Foster respectively, both of whom have greatly increased the value of the volume by their labours. Professor Vincent has won a reputation as a student of Swiss history, and he embodies in his chapter much original research. Professor Foster studied his theme afresh for the book, and gives here his maturest thought upon it. Next he would thank Mr. Henry Preble of New York City and Prof. George William Gilmore of Bangor Theological Seminary, and his colleague, Prof. Lawrence A. McLouth of the New York University, for the translations which have been already mentioned in this Preface. He considers himself particularly fortunate in securing such superior scholars to join him in these Zwingli studies, and he adds that those who will take the pains to compare these translations with the originals will be impressed with their fidelity and liveliness. He thanks also Rev. Prof. Dr. Henry E. Jacobs for permission to reprint his translation of Zwingli's Confession of Faith; the Rev. Dr. James Isaac Good, of Reading, Pennsylvania, the historian of the German Reformed Church, for the loan of several photo-

graphs, from his large collection, for illustration of this volume; Hermann Escher, Ph.D., City Librarian of Zurich, for permission to have two pages of Zwingli's manuscript copy of the Pauline Epistles photographed, and for information upon some points utilised in this volume ; Prof. Emil Egli, Ph.D., D.D., of the theological faculty of the University of Zurich, for permission to reproduce the plan of the battle of Cappel from his monograph upon it, and to the publishers for their permission also; Rev. Charles Ripley Gillett, D.D., L.H.D., Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and Judge Henry W. Bookstaver, of the same city, for the loan of books; and Rev. Nathaniel Weiss, the deeply learned Secretary of the French Protestant Society in Paris, for the gift of several Zwingli pamphlets. He would also make his general acknowledgments to those who have expressed interest in his work, and assure them that the shortcomings of this volume are not due to any shirking of work nor curtailing of expenditure of time, money, and thought to find out the facts. The author trusts that this attempt to present the life and work of Zwingli will do something to rescue him from the neglect into which he has fallen, and bring him into greater prominence.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

NEW YORK CITY,
December 15, 1900.

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Specially drawn for this work.

SOME INDISPENSABLE AIDS TO THE STUDY OF ZWINGLI

FOR A FULL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ZWINGLI

FINSLER, GEORG. *Zwingli-Bibliographie. Verzeichniss der gedruckten Schriften von und über Ulrich Zwingli.* Zürich: Orell Füssli, 1897.

FOR ZWINGLI'S WORKS

HULDREICH ZWINGLI'S WERKE. *Erste vollständige Ausgabe durch Melchior Schuler und Joh. Schulthess.* Zürich: Friedrich Schulthess, 1828–61. 8 vols. in 11 parts, with Supplement, 8vo.

The German writings: vol. i. (1522– March, 1524), 1828, pp. viii., 668; vol. ii., 1st part (1526– January, 1527), 1830, iv., 506; vol. ii., 2nd part (1522– July, 1526), 1822, viii., 531; vol. ii., 3rd part (1526–1531), 1841, iv., 111. The Latin writings: vol. iii. (1521–1526), 1832, viii., 677; vol. iv. (1526 *sqq.*), 1841, iv., 307; vol. v., 1835, iv., 788; vol. vi., 1st part, 1836, 766; vol. vi., 2nd part, 1838, 340; vol. vii., 1830, viii., 580; vol. viii., 1842, iv., 715. Supplement by Georg Schulthess u. Gaspar Marthaler, 1861 (both German and Latin), iv., 74.

Vols. v., vi., parts 1 and 2, contain Zwingli's commentaries, which are on Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Our Lord's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, James, Hebrews, and 1 John, all in Latin; vols. vii. and viii. contain the correspondence.

A new edition of the Complete Works is in preparation. It is greatly needed, although that now extant is worthy of the highest praise. It superseded the two previous editions, the first by Rudolf Gualther, Zwingli's son-in-law, Zürich: Froschauer, 1545, 4 vols., 4to; the second is a reprint, Zürich: Froschauer, 1581, 4 vols., 4to.

FOR ZWINGLI'S THEOLOGY

M. Huldreich Zwingli's sämmtliche Schriften im Auszuge. Zürich: Gessner, 1819. 2 vols., 8vo (pp. xxv., 555, 640).

Topically arranged by thorough Zwingli students. Very convenient to find out exactly what Zwingli said upon any theme, which the ample index enables one to do. The contents are entirely in a modern German translation of the original Latin and old Zurich German. A reprint with references to the Schuler and Schulthess edition of Zwingli mentioned above would be a worthy undertaking.

BAUR, AUGUST. *Zwinglis Theologie. Ihr Werden und ihr System.* Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1885–89. 2 vols., 8vo (pp. viii., 543; ix., 864).

The classic work on Zwingli's theology.

FOR ZWINGLI'S BIOGRAPHY

Archiv für die schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte. Herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung des schweizerischen Piusvereins durch die Direction: Graf Theodor Scherer-Boccard, Friedrich Fiala, Peter Bannwart. Freiburg im Br.: Herder, 1868–75. 3 vols., 8vo (pp. lxxvi., 856; vi., 557; vi., 693).

These volumes tell the story from the Roman Catholic side.

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. *Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon.* Herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung der vaterländisch-historischen Gesellschaft in Zürich von J. J. Hottinger und H. H. Vögeli. Frauenfeld: Ch. Beyel, 1838–40. 3 vols., 8vo (pp. xix., 446; viii., 404; viii., 371).

Bullinger was Zwingli's successor; an honest man and a diligent collector of authentic material. He wrote in the Zurich Swiss German, which has to be learnt by those familiar only with the modern High German.

Christoffel, Raget. *Huldreich Zwingli. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften.* Elberfeld : R. L. Friderichs, 1857. 8vo (pp. xiv., 414 ; writings, 351).

The same translated by John Cochran : *Zwingli ; or, The Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland. A life of the Reformer, with some notices of his time and contemporaries, by R. Christoffel, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Wintersingen, Switzerland.* Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1858. 8vo (pp. vii., 461).

The translation omits entirely the selected writings of Zwingli, but otherwise is eminently satisfactory. The book itself is topically arranged, and is entirely reliable, but Christoffel gives no references, and so only one familiar with the writings of Zwingli knows whence his numerous and judicious quotations come. Christoffel made the transfusions of Zwingli's treatises into modern High German, referred to below, and in the notes in this book.

Egli, Emil. *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1533.* Mit Unterstützung der Behörden von Canton und Stadt Zürich. Zürich : J. Schabelitz, 1879. 8vo (pp. viii., 947).

It is a pity that this book is so scarce. It should be reprinted. It collects innumerable items of great interest to the Zwingli student in the very language of the time, and presents a picture of Zurich life of all kinds by contemporaries. Its composition was a gigantic labour, only possible to youth, enthusiasm, and indefatigable, intelligent industry.

Moerikofer, Johann Caspar. *Ulrich Zwingli nach den urkundlichen Quellen.* Leipzig : S. Herzel, 1867–69. Two parts, 8vo (pp. viii., 351 ; vi., 525).

The author knew his subject thoroughly. His matter is arranged in short chapters, his references are mostly to manuscript sources, and singularly few are directly to Zwingli's writings.

Myconius, Oswald. *Vita Huldrici Zwinglii.*

This is the original life, very interesting but a mere sketch. The best edition is in the *Vitæ quatuor Reformatorum* [Luther by Melanchthon, Melanchthon by Camerarius, Zwingli by Myconius, and Calvin by Beza], edited by Neander, Berlin, 1841, pp. 14.

STAEHELIN, RUDOLF. *Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken, nach den Quellen dargestellt.* Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1895–97. 2 vols., 8vo (pp. viii., 535; 540).

The author, who died in 1900, was for many years Professor of Theology in the University of Basel and lectured upon Zwingli. The book has the calm strength of easy mastery of its materials. Only one thing detracts in the smallest degree from its usefulness to students of Zwingli,—the author frequently puts several references to the writings of Zwingli together at the bottom of the page in such a way that they are hard to separate. If these references could be assigned to the places where they properly belong, then Staehelin's book would be in all respects beyond criticism. As it is, it will probably retain the first place among lives of Zwingli for years to come—at least until the appearance of that new edition of Zwingli's Works so eagerly awaited.

STRICKLER, JOHANN. *Actensammlung zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521–1532 im Anschluss an die gleichzeitigen eidgenössischen Abschiede.* Zürich: Meyer u. Zeller, 1878–84. 5 vols., 8vo.

Vol. i. (1521–1528), pp. vii., 724; vol. ii. (1529–1530), 819; vol. iii. (1531, Jan.–Oct. 11), 647; vol. iv. (1531, Oct. 11,–Dec., 1532), 736; vol. v. (1521–1532), 172, with bibliographical appendix, 81.

Here are presented the raw materials of history in the shape of documents of all descriptions, chronologically arranged, as in Egli. The labour of compiling these volumes must have been immense.

VÖGELIN, J. K., GEROLD MEYER VON KNONAU, and others. *Historisch-geographischer Atlas der Schweiz in 15 Blättern.* Zürich: F. Schulthess, 1868. 2nd ed., 1870. Folio.

VÖGELIN, SALOMON. *Das alte Zürich.* Zürich: Orell, Fues & Co., 1828. New ed., much enlarged, 1878–90. 2 vols., 8vo (pp. xvii., 671; viii., 788).

Invaluable, but so peculiarly arranged that consultation is difficult.

FOR THE LATEST ZWINGLI RESEARCHES

Zwingliana. Mittheilungen zur Geschichte Zwinglis und der Reformation. Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung für das Zwinglimuseum in Zurich. Zürich, 1897 *sqq.*

Two parts a year, edited by that tireless Zwingli student and scholar, Professor Emil Egli. Every Zwingli student should subscribe for it.

ZWINGLI TRANSLATIONS

Zeitgemässe Auswahl aus Huldreich Zwingli's practischen Schriften. Aus dem Alt-Deutschen und Lateinischen in's Schriftdeutsche übersetzt und mit den nothwendigsten geschichtlichen Erläuterungen versehen, von R. Christoffel, V.D.M. Zürich: Meyer u. Zeller, 1843–1846. 12 parts.

TITLE OF THE SELECTION	PLACE IN THE COMPLETE WORKS
1. Das Wort Gottes	I. 53–82
2. Christliche Einleitung	I. 542–565
3. Der Hirt	I. 632–668
4. Das Predigtamt	II. 1, 304–336
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8. Eine ernstliche Ermahnung an die Eidgenossen, das sie sich nicht durch die List ihrer Feinde in Schaden bringen lassen	II. 2, 315–326
9. Auslegen und Begründung der Schlussreden oder Artikel	I. 170–424
10. Die göttliche und die menschliche Gerechtigkeit	I. 426–458
11. Wer Ursache gebe zum Aufruhr, wer die wahren Anführer seien, und wie man zu christlicher Einigkeit und Frieden gelangen möge	II. 1, 376–425
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Translations of more or less complete selections into modern high German are given by R. Christoffel in the Appendix to his biography as mentioned above, and by C. Sigwart in the Appendix to his sketch of Zwingli (in *Die vier Reformatoren*, Stuttgart, 1862), pp. 336–406 ; of especial interest is the first Bernese sermon in 1528, pp. 381–405 ; the second Bernese sermon is translated by R. Nesselmann (*Buch der Predigten*, Elbing, 1858), pp. 689–692.

In old English translations appeared of Zwingli's "Confession of Faith," two translations (Zürich, March, 1543, and by Thomas Cotsforde, Geneva, 1555) ; of his "Pastor," London, 1550 ; of his "Certain Precepts," [which is the same as "The Christian Education of Truth" and "Eine kurze Unterweisung," mentioned on previous pages] London, 1548 ; and "Short Pathway to the Right and True Understanding of the Holy and Sacred Scriptures," [*i.e.*, Zwingli's sermon on the Word of God,] Worcester, 1550, translated by John Veron.

The modern English translations are mentioned in the Preface to this biography and in the notes.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

SWITZERLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH.D.,

Associate Professor in Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Maryland

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SWITZERLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AT the close of the fifteenth century the traveller in Switzerland would have found the prevailing races and languages firmly established in the places which they occupy to-day, but the people were not bound together by the same ties of government. Germans in the north and east, French in the west and south had long grown fast to the rocky soil, but they were grouped in small independent States, and lived under most diverse political conditions. For a long time there had existed a Swiss Confederation, but this did not include a considerable number of the present members. Yet it must be said that most of the territory now known as Switzerland was in some manner attached to it by friendly alliances and by ties of common interest, so that in relation to outside nations they all stood together. The distinguishing feature of the Confederation was, however, the feebleness of its unity within and the absolute independence of the separate States in matters of law and government. This fact had much to do with the history of the Reformation in Switzerland. So also had the previous history of some of the prominent States and cities.

The Swiss Confederation began in a union of three small German cantons in the centre of the country, all of them touching upon the Lake of Lucerne. At the outset this was a league of pastoral republics, whose wild and mountainous territory was not over thirty-five miles square. To this nucleus, however, were soon added neighbouring districts and cities, till, in the year 1353, they became the "League of Eight." For a century and a quarter this was the extent of the Confederation. Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Lucerne, Zurich, and Bern were the members of the Union during the heroic struggle for freedom from the German Empire. Although they enjoyed the friendly assistance of others, this was also the extent of the Confederation in the "glorious period" of the Burgundian wars, when Charles the Bold was defeated in 1476, and when, for a time, these mountaineers became the arbiters of Europe. Just at the opening of the sixteenth century the number of confederated cantons was increased to thirteen by the addition of Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, while States like Geneva, Neuchâtel, and the Grisons remained in the position of friendly allies.

Part of this Confederation consisted of rural democracies engaged in pastoral or agricultural pursuits and governing themselves with most complete democracy. The other members were flourishing city States, like Bern, Lucerne, Zurich, and Basel, whose municipal population followed commerce and industry with varying intensity, and whose governments were more or less aristocratic.

The original mountain States enjoyed the proud distinction of having founded Swiss freedom, but by this time the leadership in State policy as well as in general civilisation lay with the cities. Among these Zurich and Bern were pre-eminent in political influence.

Toward the cities the rural cantons exhibited a jealousy which had for a long time prevented any additions to the Confederation and afterward caused trouble in federal politics. It was feared that the cities would endeavour to absorb the powers of the rural States, or, by their votes in the Diet, enact measures oppressive to the country people. This suspicion was not without some foundation, for the governments of the cities had been in the habit of treating the rural population of their own territories with less consideration. They often discriminated against the industry and productions of the people outside the walls of the towns and gave the city dwellers superior rights.

On the other hand, the city States were greater in population, wealth, and intelligence, but the great city of Bern had no more votes in the Confederation than the tiny democracy of Uri. Friction naturally followed, and occasionally there were open hostilities, followed by armed conflict. At times there were recriminations by means of duties on goods and by shutting off routes of transportation. On both sides great selfishness had been displayed, but the small cantons had been, on the whole, more obstinate, for they had, at times, nearly sacrificed the Confederation to maintain their local interests.

Hence we may expect to find great contrasts between the actions of the various parts of Switzerland when new doctrines of religion upheave the established order of thinking.

The great arena of political action was the federal congress, called the Diet, which met at stated intervals in the various large cities alternately. This Diet was an assembly of delegates from the various cantons, who came together to deliberate and to pass resolutions on matters of common interest. The passing of resolutions and recommendations was in reality the limit of their legislative power, for the delegations could not vote finally without the consent of their home governments. No act could be passed without the unanimous consent of all the cantons, and when a law was enacted there was no central government to enforce it. The execution of the laws was left to the cantonal governments, and there was no one to punish infraction except the offenders themselves. Consequently federal laws were obeyed in those States which saw fit to enforce them.

Federal government, therefore, was a system of treaties and agreements chiefly touching foreign relations. The welfare of the citizen lay in the hands of his canton. To that he owed his allegiance and patriotic devotion, and from that he obtained protection in the enjoyment of his liberties. The history of the reformation in the Church revolves about the fact that each State determined for itself the form of worship in its own territory. In spite of this independent sovereignty, however, the

political destiny of the nation lay, in considerable measure, in the hands of the Diet, for agreements with foreign Powers were made by that assembly.

Mercenary Service

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Swiss were much courted by foreign governments desiring mercenary soldiers, and foreign ambassadors were constantly appearing before the authorities with weighty requests. A meeting of the Diet in 1512 at the city of Baden may serve as an example. The minutes for August 11. inform us that on that day in the hall of assembly the deputy of the Duke of Lorraine read a message respecting the passage of soldiers through that province. A representative of the Pope presented to the Confederation a sword, a hat, and two banners, together with privileges contained in a Bull, as honourable rewards for faithful services. An ambassy from the King of Spain requested that the Confederation should join in the league which had been formed between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Republic of Venice. An ambassy from the Duke of Savoy hoped that former agreements with him would be maintained. Imperial ambassadors desired the confederates to join in a campaign in Burgundy. A motion was offered on the relations of the Confederation to the Duchy of Milan. An ambassy from the Republic of Venice desired to negotiate a treaty with the Swiss, and received answer that the conflict between the Emperor and the Venetians must be smoothed over before the Diet could consider the matter. On

the following day further hearings were given to these Powers, and proposals were entertained which involved cessions of territory and large pecuniary rewards for military services.

Thus we may see that the Swiss at the turning of the century were not an obscure people, busied only with their own affairs. They were for the moment a European Power, whose good-will and services were sedulously courted. The soldiers of Switzerland fought in the armies of all the great States, sometimes on one side and sometimes on another, and were even found in opposing camps. The effects of this upon politics and morality were far reaching, for the Swiss at this time were not fighting for independence, nor in self-defence, but for the mercenary rewards of the employing Powers.

The Diet was not the only authority brought in contact with foreign monarchs. Its meeting was a convenient place to negotiate with all Switzerland at once, but it was necessary to deal with the cantonal governments also. Every little capital or legislature was approached by foreign emissaries on the subject of military aid. Enlistment was carried on by the States themselves, and contracts were made with foreign governments for the services of the companies required. Induced by the high pay and opportunities for plunder, the hardy mountaineers eagerly ventured into any war. The demoralising effects of this system appeared not alone among the soldiery and in private life. Official corruption was universal, and was taken so much as a matter of course that it brought no disgrace to public men.

In order to gain favour with these statesmen, foreign monarchs vied with each other in granting subsidies, pensions, and special bribes. Persons in authority even accepted gifts from two or more Powers at the same time, and voted for the side which appeared the more profitable. Patriotism sank to a very low ebb, and statesmanship was busier with its rewards than with its duties. Money flowed into the country through numerous channels. There was the bounty to the State itself for its contingent, then the pensions to the statesmen for granting the same, followed by the pay of the soldiers themselves, and such plunder as they might have captured or ransomed while away. When the size and number of the mercenary contingents are taken into consideration, it will be seen that a large proportion of the population was in greater or less degree dependent on the foreign subsidies. The effect of this was not slow in coming.

Even before the beginning of the sixteenth century the lawmakers, both cantonal and federal, had been conscious of the evil, and had been endeavouring to check enlistment in foreign service. The Diet repeatedly passed resolutions on the subject, but these were for the most part feeble attempts to prevent irregular and unofficial enlistments. For example, in 1479, it was resolved that every canton should require its soldiers to take oath not to go privately into foreign war. Some thought that offenders should be punished with death. The territorial governors were ordered to capture and imprison all soldiers who had been fighting under the

German Emperor, and to hold them till they should pay five pounds fine and should take oath not to enlist without permission of the authorities. In 1488, the German Emperor, on his side, requested the confederates not to allow their soldiers to enlist in France without permission. The Governor of Baden was ordered to punish soldiers returning from France with ten pounds fine or imprisonment. In 1492, another ordinance against unauthorised enlistment recommended a fine with imprisonment on bread and water.[1]

From time to time complaints were brought against the cantonal governments because they did not suppress "running away to war," and, on the other hand, cantons asked aid of the confederates to suppress the evil. Yet the anxiety seems to have been caused more by the irregularities than by the mercenary system itself. In 1498, a petition was received from Swiss soldiers serving against France in the armies in Burgundy requesting that no contingents from the Confederation be allowed to fight against them. The same Diet received an ambassy from the Emperor of Germany with a mission to disentangle other complications arising from simultaneous enlistment in the service of that country.

The root of the evil was discovered in due time,

[1] The acts of the Diet are to be found in the *Amtliche Sammlung der Eidgenössischen Abschiede*, 1245–1798, in 8 vols., 4to, published by the Swiss Federal Government. These documents are not exactly minutes of the Diet, but instructions given to the delegates at the adjournment of each meeting as to what they should refer to their home governments. Citations may be traced by the dates.

but it was difficult to work any reform, for the law-makers themselves were entangled. The acceptance of pensions from foreign governments was common among the statesmen of all countries at this time. Public sentiment did not appear to frown on the practice unless in flagrant cases of disloyalty. Hence it is not surprising that the evil consequences were not immediately condemned in Switzerland. Furthermore, the military profession was a welcome career to the hard-worked peasantry of every canton, and offered rich and rapid rewards in place of the slow returns of ordinary labour.

The time came, however, when good citizens, observing the moral effect of these things, endeavoured not only to regulate enlistment but to suppress the pension system entirely. Resolutions, offered from time to time, condemned the practice and urged the States to prohibit the entrance of pension money into their borders. A notable example of this was an agreement brought forward in the Diet of July, 1503. The cantons were asked to enforce a law to this effect:

"That no one in the Confederation, whether he be townsman, countryman, or subject peasant, clerical or layman, noble or unnoble, rich or poor, of whatever rank or condition, shall from this day on receive from emperors, kings, princes, lords, or cities, spiritual or temporal powers, or from anyone whomsoever, any pension, service money, provision, allowance, salary, or gifts, whether this come to himself or through his wife, children, servants, or others, whereby it come to his use, either secretly or openly."

Any person who shall be convicted of disobedience to this order shall be

"forever removed from the honours and offices which he may have, and shall not be employed in honourable affairs, as in courts of justice, councils, embassies, and such matters, but from that hour on he shall be arrested by the proper authorities and punished in person and goods as they may think best."

Although this resolution was accepted by all the cantons, it was not an easy matter to enforce, for the enlistment itself was not stopped. According to the same act, recruiting must be official, and only irregular running away to war was to be punished. The pensions went on as before, and in a few years the law was abrogated by a resolution to allow the cantons to do as they pleased.

In the Italian campaigns of the first two decades of the sixteenth century the Swiss suffered severe losses in men, but the effect of this was to bring more money into the country, for soldiers were harder to obtain. In consequence of the treaties entered into between 1516 and 1521 Switzerland was deluged with coin. From France there were annual subsidies of 3000 livres to each of the cantons, and to the Confederation as a whole a sum of 700,000 crowns was offered in one payment as indemnity for the wars of 1513 and 1515. At the same time the Duke of Milan agreed to pay 150,000 ducats at once and 40,000 ducats annually. Besides these sums there were subsidies from Austria and from the Pope. Although these promises were not

always punctually fulfilled, nevertheless a constant stream of foreign gold poured into the valleys of Helvetia.[1]

The effect of the military service was brutalising. The foreign gold so easily obtained brought with it corruption of morals. The chronicler Anshelm of Bern, writing about the year 1500, complains bitterly of the changes seen in the manners and customs of the people. To be sure, he excites himself over many unessential matters of dress, but they all indicate to him a passion for extravagance and luxury leading to moral debasement. Such were shaggy hats with many ostrich plumes for men, cloth from London and Lombardy, long coats with many folds, silk jackets even for peasants, parti-coloured stockings, slashed shoes with rings on the toes, silver pipes, and silk sashes. To his mind all these go with gambling, disorderly shouting, extravagant dances, overmuch eating, and the consumption of foreign wines, confections, and spices. Rich men built themselves great houses with high glass windows full of painted coats of arms. Women, likewise, must have costly dresses and ornaments,

"and as these expensive manners have increased, so in the same measure have increased the lust for honours and goods, trickery and unfaithfulness, unbelief, haughtiness, pride, debauchery, scorn, and with them all arts for gaining money, especially those things which serve the

[1] The sums above mentioned have a present silver value of about $1,871,600, but the purchase power was many times greater at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

tongue [palate] and trades which are serviceable to luxurious pride."[1]

Opinions of Foreigners

The opinions of certain foreign observers of the time are not flattering. For instance, Balcus, an ambassador from Milan, wrote between the years 1500 and 1504 a description of the Confederation, in which the annoyances of a foreigner are mingled with valuable impressions of the people.[2] Coming from the bright skies of Italy and from the higher civilisation of the southern cities, it is not to be expected that the Italians would be altogether pleased with their mountain neighbours.

Says Balcus:

"Although the Swiss are altogether unhewn barbarians, yet they live among themselves according to certain laws which they consider so holy that no one dare to break or overstep them, because it is a crime to have broken them even in the slightest. Our civil law, however, our good manners and honourable customs, and, what is worse, their own laws and ordinances respecting other nations, they do not themselves observe at all, because they are without fidelity, uprightness, and humanity; but they seize rudely everything before them, building upon obstinacy, not upon wisdom."

"When they start out to war they swear a solemn oath that every man who sees one of his comrades desert, or

[1] Anshelm, *Berner-Chronik* (Anno, 1503). Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, ii., 464.

[2] Balcus, *Descriptio Helvetiæ*, edited by Bernouilli for *Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte*, vi., 78. Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, ii., 470.

act the coward in battle, will cut him down on the spot, for they believe that the courage and persistency of warriors is greater when they, out of fear of death, do not fear death."

"In peace, however, and when one citizen brings complaints against another citizen, they bind themselves also by an oath, for, if they have any business with one another and fall into strife, as it often happens, and seize their weapons or begin to curse each other, if then another party comes forward, places himself in their midst, and begs them to lay down the weapons and to talk over the matter in peace, and commands them to be peaceful, and if one of the contending parties will not hearken, the man who offers himself as a peacemaker is bound by oath to kill him, and that without punishment."

"They begin a battle after they have formed their phalanx according to the old methods of war, and steadfast and fearless, they are almost indifferent to life and death. In court they judge not according to the written laws but according to common custom, and believe that nothing is more favourable to justice than a quick judgment, wherefore they overthrow the procedures and sentences of court. To curse God and heavenly things is regarded by them as a crime worthy of death, and if any one of them is prosecuted they do not allow any pity to prevent him from being punished according to the law."

"Although accustomed to robbery yet the people have an extravagant generosity to the poor. The scholars in the study of Latin, if there are any such, beg their living with singing. Their stately but remarkably extravagant daily meals they spin out to great length, so that they spend two to three hours at table eating their many dishes and barbarous spices with much noise and con-

versation. They show ill-will against those who despise this kind of table pleasure."

"When princely ambassadors arrive, the heads of the city, or certain ones from the council, visit them immediately to give them greeting. At breakfast or supper there is a continual crowd around them, including not only the invited or important persons in office, but with these many insignificant people. All these the ambassadors must receive in a friendly way and feed them richly, otherwise they will be followed with perpetual hate and ill-will. In among these will creep also clowns and jugglers and whoever understands amusing arts, and one must receive this kind of people, admire their wit, and before going away must leave them some kind of a present or reward for their art. Furthermore the council is accustomed to send to every ambassador, daily, several measures of wine at the hours for breakfast and supper. The persons who bring these things are rewarded by the receiver of the gift with a small gold-piece, and at his departure with at least one more gold-piece. Whereupon the whole expense is charged to public good and advantage."

"Custom allows that women, who on account of the beauty of their faces and the attraction of their persons are uncommonly lovable, may be embraced and kissed anywhere and by anybody without distinction.[1] The cultivation of the intellect is rare and the noble virtues receive no honour. This low-born people, this lot of peasants, born in mountains and woods and brought up in a narrow hole, have begun to play the lord in Europe, and think nothing of enlarging the borders of their own dominion if anyone allows them the opportunity to do

[1] Erasmus says this was true in England at the time (Letter to Anderlin, *Epis.*, lxv., quoted by Froude, *Life and Letters*, p. 45).

so. Moreover, there is no doubt that wars, peace, the victories and the misfortunes of famous kings, depend upon them. This little band of cowherds and shepherds, who pass the day in the drawing and the thickening of milk ; who are, so to speak, without law and ignorant of things human and divine ; will prescribe laws for all others and sit in judgment on the affairs of princes, as though the appeal and the highest judgment belonged to them. For assumption and violent passion, the diseases which are so near to madness, they surpass all other mortal beings, but among themselves they agree so well together that as a reward and fruit of their unity they enjoy an undisturbed and continuous freedom, to which indeed the quarrels of others have given assistance."

Johannes Trithemius, a learned German abbot, writing of the wars of the Swabian League, included the following description of the Swiss [1]:

"Whether the Confederates have had a just or an unjust cause for war is not for me to decide, since I do not hold the place of a judge. But this I say, this I write and hand on in writing to the future world, which everybody knows to-day who has lived with us in Germany, and which all say, who know the manner of the Swiss, that they are a people proud by nature, enemies of princes, riotous, and for a long time have been contrary and disobedient to their overlords ; filled with contempt for others and full of assumption for themselves ; deceitful in war and lovers of treason ; in peace never steadfast ; nor do they inquire about the justice

[1] *Annalium Hirsaugiensium*, ii., 572 (Edit. 1690) ; Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, i., 282.

of what is due from them by law, especially when it affects the independence which they have the effrontery to assume. I say nevertheless that they are not only bold in war but also shrewd, and they are mutually helpful in time of need, and no one leaves another in danger, nor do the rich despise the poor."

In 1504, Jacob Wimpheling, one of the literary lights of the period, presented to the Elector of Mainz a remarkable address in the form of a prayer for the conversion of the Swiss. He takes advantage of his position before the Throne to bring in a scathing indictment of that people. Among other things he says:

"In the capture of prisoners there is more humanity to be found among Turks and Bohemians than among the Swiss."

"Their laws and ordinances when summed up are three: We will not; we will; you must."

"Pope Pius II. in agreement with us, complains greatly of this. He says that they are a proud people by nature who will not act according to justice, unless this justice is serviceable to them, and they hold nothing for right except when it agrees with their fantastic ideas. And how can they truly understand right and justice, when their lives are spent, not in the study of the philosophers nor of the laws of the Emperor, but in arms and warfare?"[1]

The German Humanist, Pirckheimer, in his contemporary history of a war in which the Swiss had been engaged, characterises the military prowess of

[1] Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, i., 282.

that people.[1] After a description of the Burgundian campaign he continues as follows:

"In the meanwhile the Swiss rested from the alarms of war, for no power was so great after the suppression of the Burgundians that it would have dared to challenge them. They permitted forces to be sent now to Maximilian, now to the French, not only because they wished to exercise their youth in warlike discipline, but also because they feared, or rather, hated both, and the success of either party roused their anger. In truth, all Germans have received from the Swiss the weapons and the military tactics which they now use, for they threw away the shield which they had formerly been accustomed to use, like all other nations. They learned through experience that the shield could not in any way withstand the power of the phalanx and of the lance. Therefore, up to my time, all those who carried spears, halberds, and swords, were called Swiss, even if they were born in the middle of Germany, until finally, on account of hatred of the Swiss, the name 'Landsknecht,' that is, soldiers from the home country, came up and began to be famous."

Macchiavelli[2] makes frequent references to the military reputation of the Swiss and to the resulting political independence. He is more or less indifferent to the moral effects of these facts.

"From experience one observes armed republics making the greatest progress, but mercenary armies bring on

[1] Pirckheimer, *Hist. belli Suitensis*, p. 11; Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, i., 285.

[2] *The Prince*, chap. xii.

nothing but evil ; and it is more difficult for a republic to fall into the power of one of its citizens, when it is armed with its own weapons than when it is armed with foreign weapons. Rome and Sparta remained many centuries armed and free. The Swiss are the most thoroughly armed and the freest of nations."

He also speaks of the Swiss as " the teachers of the modern art of war," whose formations and tactics " every nation has imitated."

Guicciardini, in his *History of Italy*,[1] is obliged to touch upon its relations with Switzerland. He gives a calm review of the institutions of the country, but the effects of the mercenary service on moral character are plainly discernible.

" The Swiss are of the same kind as those who are called Helvetians by the ancients, and a race which dwells in mountains higher than the Jura. . . . They are divided into thirteen peoples (they call them cantons), each one of which rules itself with its own magistrates, laws, and ordinances. They order every year or oftener, as occasion arises, a discussion of their common affairs, assembling at this or that place, as the delegates of the cantons decide. They call these assemblies, according to German usage, Federal Diets, at which they decide upon war, peace, or treaties, or consider the requests of those who demand soldiers or volunteers, and all other things which concern their common interests. When the cantons grant mercenaries by law, they themselves choose a captain to whom the army, with the flag, is entrusted in the name of the State. This terrible and

[1] Guicciardini, *La Historia d'Italia*, Book X., cap. iii., anno 1511.

unlearned people have made a great name for unity and skill in arms, with which, by their natural bravery and the discipline of their tactics, they have not only powerfully defended their own country, but also outside of their native land they have exercised the arts of war with the greatest reputation. But this would have been immeasurably greater if they had used it for their own authority, not for pay and the extension of the dominion of others, or if they had had before their eyes nobler aims than the lust for money. From love of this they lost the opportunity to make all Italy fruitful, for, since they came from home only as hired soldiers, they have carried away for their State no fruits of their victories. . . . At home the important people are not ashamed to take presents and pensions from foreign princes, as inducements to take their side and favour them in the councils. As by this means they have mixed their private interests with public affairs, and have become purchasable and bribe-takers, so disunion has crept in among them. After the practice had once begun that those things which had been agreed to by the majority of the cantons at the Diet, were not followed by all the States, they finally came a few years ago into open war with each other, from which followed the greatest injury to the reputation which they had everywhere enjoyed."

The comments of these more or less unsympathetic foreigners are confirmed by the observations of native writers, like the Humanist, Bonifacius Amerbach of Basel: "If there ever was a time, the word of the poet is now true, 'this is, indeed, the age of gold.'"[1]

[1] Letter to Zasius, 1520. Burckhardt, *B. Amerbach und die Reformation*, p. 138.

Sumptuary Laws

As we have noted in other connections, magistrates and authorities were to some extent aware of the evils of the time and endeavoured to stop the progress of corruption. It would be unfair to measure their efforts by standards of the nineteenth century, but we can see that the lawmakers only trimmed the twigs of the tree so long as they failed to prohibit foreign pensions. They tried to stop the descent of moral character by laws against luxury and new fashions. Their intentions were excellent, but their efforts apparently unavailing. It is a wide-spread belief that " blue laws " were an invention of the Puritans, but in reality they began in antiquity and continued through the Middle Ages into modern times. Sumptuary ordinances were repeatedly enacted in the cities of Switzerland before the Reformation, and a few may be cited here to show how they attempted to regulate private conduct in those days.

In Basel, in 1441–42, it was forbidden to play dice in the guilds, or club-houses. Betting must on no account exceed four or five pence. After the nine o'clock bell the house master and servants should stop all playing and send the guests home, in order that profane swearing and cursing might be prevented. Wedding feasts, which often took place at the guild-house, were limited to one day and to a fixed expenditure.

Likewise at Zurich, in the ordinances of 1488, we read that " No citizen shall in future extend his

wedding feast over more than one day." If he is a member of an aristocratic guild, and consequently able to bear the expense, he may invite the ladies of the guild, otherwise no one except the relatives may come. It seems to have been the custom to give presents to the guests. A maximum of five shillings is fixed for this for each person, while bride and groom receive no gifts whatever. Extravagance at christenings is to be stopped by fixing the limit of gifts, and other festivals in like manner.

The effect of the influx of foreign money and foreign fashions seems to have been felt in 1488. The Zurich ordinance on the subject reads as follows:

"In view of the marked disorder which has begun in our city among the common people on account of the costly clothing which their wives and daughters wear, and in order to prevent this, we have ordained that hereafter no woman or girl shall in any wise wear silver- or gold-plated pins, rings, or buckles, nor any silk garment or trimming on coats, shoes, neckwear, etc., except the women of the guilds of the *Rüden* and *Schnecken*. Further, no woman of the community shall have a mounted girdle, except those whose husbands possess 1000 gulden or over, and they may have one such girdle and no more to the value of about 12 gulden. These persons may also have silk borders and trimmings on their bodices with modesty, but without hooks and buckles, as above said. If anyone acts contrary to this, such forbidden girdles shall be confiscated to the city, and whoever already has such girdles, whether few or many, shall sell the same, or allow their husbands to sell them for his business and necessities. As to buckles,

rings, and silk, everyone who disobeys this ordinance shall pay two marks of silver for each offence."[1]

Such were the paternal efforts of the lawmakers of the end of that century. Their enactments are amusing to read and were ineffectual at the time, but they show the direction of popular tendencies. This ordinance of Zurich was, indeed, the work of a dictator, Hans Waldman, who was afterwards deposed and executed, but it illustrates none the less the reform methods of the age. It was not the scattered preachers and chroniclers alone who uttered their Jeremiads on the state of society, but councils and legislatures attempted in their clumsy fashion to stem the drift toward extravagance and immorality.

Even as late as 1519 dancing was forbidden by order of the council. "Let it be announced in the pulpits of the city and written notice sent into the country that since dancing has been forbidden, it is also forbidden to musicians or anyone else to provide dances in courts or other places, whether it be at public weddings or church festivals." A prohibition of 1500 reads: "In order that God the Lord may protect the harvests which are in the field, and may give us good weather, let no person dance."[2]

Morals of the Clergy

The condition of the clergy just previous to the Reformation is a subject which eludes the investiga-

[1] Reprinted in Oechsli, i., 209. See Vincent, "European Blue Laws," *Report Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1897, pp. 357–372; *cf.* p. 361 *sqq.*

[2] Egli, *Akten.*, No. 82.

tor who desires the exact truth in statistical form. Most of our information on this point comes from writers who eventually joined the reform movement, and, writing in the heat of the events, there may have been a tendency to paint in darker colours than necessary. We may see, however, that the priest was a child of his generation. Conduct which would not be tolerated at the present time was regarded with indifference at the close of the fifteenth century. Yet even then there was complaint of ignorance and immorality among the clergy, and we are compelled to admit that there were many individual cases of immoral practices, if we do not go so far as to indict the Church as a whole.

Authentic instances are on record of monks given over to debauchery. The waste of monastic property was a common complaint, and the city of Zurich had assumed the control or supervision of all endowments of this kind within its territory. But one cannot assume that the clergy as a whole were lost to all sense of moral decency, nor do we need such facts to account for the Reformation.

The attention of good men was early called to abuses which needed reform. For instance, Christopher, Bishop of Basel, in 1503 addressed the synod of his diocese on the subject of the immorality of the clergy, and published a body of regulations which were to be enforced with new vigour. His language is decidedly unequivocal.

"Since we have learned with the greatest chagrin that the greater part of the priests of our city and diocese

when they are called to conduct the funeral services of nobles and other persons, give themselves up to gaming and drunkenness, so that many of them at times sit the whole night at play; others exhaust themselves with swilling and drunkenness and sleep the whole night through on the benches, and by other extraordinary excesses bring scandal, disgrace, and derision upon the clerical profession: Therefore, we command that all clergymen who are so invited, and all others, shall not give themselves up to dicing and card-playing, nor to other irregular and disgraceful actions at any time whatever, and especially in taverns and rooms belonging to the laity," etc.

A tendency to imitate the world in clothing led to ordinances which forbade the wearing of coloured silks, flowing sleeves, slashed mantles, or jewelry; nor should they wear swords, knives, or other weapons, unless travelling. The public worship should be conducted with fitting decorum.

"The clergy shall see to it that during the worship in the church they do not walk up and down with laymen or other clergymen, as we have known it often to happen in certain collegiate churches of our bishopric, nor shall they go out upon the market in choir dress during worship to buy eggs, cheese, or anything else."

Regarding superstitious practices, Bishop Christopher speaks with words which are as true for all time as for his day:

"Since experience teaches that certain pilgrimages and the frequent coming together of the people before

certain pictures, or even at profane places hidden in mountains and woods, is not so much in consequence of true appearances as of false dreams, or of the imagination of a sick phantasy, and the blinding of the senses, and that, in accordance with their idle and ignorant beginning, a vain and ridiculous result has come from them: Therefore we forbid that in future the simple folk shall be deceived through their credulity, or be deceived by invented or superstitious miracle stories, etc."

Other sound admonitions are included in this pastoral letter, but only those which acknowledge the presence of gross evils, or immoral tendencies, are here quoted.[1] Bishop Hugo of Constance, in a similar pastoral letter of the year 1517, is grieved to find that many of the clergy are not only given to drinking and gambling, but many are openly living with concubines. He orders them to remove all such suspected women from their houses and to set a better example to the laity.[2]

A curious commentary on popular beliefs is the report of the Governor of Baden to the Federal Diet of 1494. He states in a most matter-of-fact way that he has burnt a witch, who left a husband and some property. He desires instructions as to the disposal of these goods. The Diet, as if it were a mere matter of routine, directs him to hold her property for the Confederation and give the man what belongs to him.

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[1] Oechsli, ii., 473.

[2] Simler, *Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen-Geschichte*, Bd. i., 779, Zurich, 1759.

[3] *Eidg. Abschiede*, iii., 1, 451.

Bullinger, immediate successor of Zwingli, and the historian of the Swiss Reformation, wrote as follows concerning the clergy previous to the year 1519:

"At one time during these years when all the deacons of the Confederation were assembled together there were found not over three who were well read in the Bible. The others acknowledged that none of them had read even the New Testament, whereby we may understand how it was with the other clergy, with whom the case was still worse. For, among the clergy there was almost no studying, but their exercise was in gaming, in feeding, and in the practice of all luxuries. The more earnest were accused of hypocrisy. Those who studied somewhat devoted themselves to scholastic theology and canon law. The greater part preached out of sermon books, learning by heart sermons written by monks and printed, repeating them to the people without judgment. . . .

"In the churches the mass had become a market and a place for bargaining, in fact, all sacraments and all things which one holds holy became venal and corrupt. The singing in parishes and monasteries was for the most part superstitious, and the monasteries had fallen into all sorts of scandals and idolatries, where no one of them observed so much as the first of its own rules, not to speak of God's Word. Every day new altars, endowments, and endless numbers of idolatrous pilgrimages were established, to the great pleasure of the clergy, who threw into their bottomless sack all that the common man as well as the noble possessed. Whereupon there was great complaint on all sides." [1]

[1] Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, i., 3.

Bullinger's description of the condition of the laity is so well confirmed by contemporary authorities previously quoted that one is obliged to give credit to this account of the state of the Church.

Positions in the Church were regarded as property, and very naturally, too, since the appointee was obliged to buy the right of preferment. Pastorates and canonries could be obtained from the papal court on the payment of a specified portion of the revenues of the place. Positions were rated according to a regular tariff, and matters went so far that candidates bought the right to succeed to a charge before it was vacant, and these rights became an object of speculation in the hands of dealers. Such persons were called courtesans, because they lived by favours received from the court of Rome. The class included both foreigners sent thither to occupy livings and native Swiss who were recipients of papal appointments.

An unconscious revelation of the condition of affairs is found in the defence of one of these courtesans against the charges of the Federal Diet. Heinrich Göldli, a Swiss citizen, was a member of the papal guard, and was accused of dishonesty in his dealings in livings. He refutes the charge by showing that he had a legal title in every one of his transactions. A few of his own statements will show how these things were regarded.

"It is true I have in time past taken up livings and have requested them of the Pope. I serve the Pope for no other cause, nor have I any other reward or wage

from the Pope, neither I nor others of his Holiness' servants, except such livings as happen to fall vacant in the Pope's month, which his Holiness presents to us, every one in his own country. . . . I hope that although I have made contracts or agreements regarding livings which I have lawfully received from his Holiness the Pope for my services over against an evil day, I have had the power and right to do so, so that I may act as I please with mine own and may gain mine own benefit and advantage."

No one ought to charge him with fraudulent dealing, for

"I have never in my life surrendered anything from which I have had profit without I have given written evidence and laid myself under written obligation, so that in case it should be disputed by anybody, and I failed to protect him with my title and at my own expense, in the holding of the living, I should be in duty bound to pay back all costs and damages, as well as all that I have received from him."

"In regard to the third article, that I have sold livings in the same way that horses are sold at Zurzach, I have never in all my life sold a living or bought it in this way, for that is simony, and whoever buys and sells livings ought to be deprived of them— but I have, when I have delivered over a living, by permission of his Holiness, demanded and taken the costs to which I have been put, and also have caused a yearly pension to be allowed me out of the living, a thing which is permitted me by the Pope, and concerning which I have my bulls, letters, and seals, for this is a common custom among the clergy."

In reply to the threat of the Diet that he should

be forbidden to hold any more livings in Switzerland, Göldli hopes that his legal rights will be respected, that certain appointments will be left for him to live on, and mentions specifically several reservations which have recently cost him large sums, and for which he expects damages and remuneration.

"Furthermore, the Pope has given me the reservation of the provostship of Zurzach, so that when the present provost, Peter Attenhofer, shall die, this provostship shall fall to me. I have also for this the letter and seal, and have paid the annates, as the first fruits are called, to the *camera apostolica*." [1]

Göldli declared later that the purchase of this expectation had cost him 350 ducats.

This appeal for justice gives unconsciously the state of opinion and practice in the appointment of the clergy. The authorities were aroused by the extent of the transactions of one man, but public sentiment does not seem to have been greatly offended in general at the purchase of preferment in the Church. Zwingli himself paid over a hundred gulden to this Göldli before he would let him have the living at Glarus, which Göldli claimed in virtue of his papal letter of investiture.

Switzerland and the Papacy

The relations of the Church in Switzerland to the papacy deserve special attention, for the conditions differed much from the state of things in Germany. For a long time the popes had held the Swiss in

[1] Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, ii., 504.

high esteem. This was due in general to the doctrinal faithfulness of the mountaineers, and in particular to the devotion with which the Swiss had recently supported the political and military policy of the papacy. When Julius II. entered into the contest with the other Powers for the possession of Northern Italy he found need for mercenary troops, and applied to the Swiss for aid. Through the persuasions of an energetic Swiss Bishop, Matthias Schinner of Sitten, the confederates came to the help of the Pope with a contingent of men. They were under the impression that it was to be a holy war for the preservation of the Church. When they were undeceived in regard to the objects of the campaign the Swiss were with difficulty persuaded to go into the war, but finally marched into Italy in 1510 and 1512 and performed wonders of valour. The Pope not only paid for these services, but, as a token of his pleasure, presented the confederates with a golden sword and a richly embroidered ducal cap, as symbols of their military and political sovereignty, and granted them the title of "Protectors of the Freedom of the Church."

The Swiss came out of these wars with eyes opened to the worldly ambitions of the popes, and their successes were followed by all that train of evils described above under the subject of mercenary service. They gave less heed to the requests of the papacy, and when Leo X. in 1518 asked for twelve thousand men for a crusade against the Turks, the confederates granted only ten thousand, and said if more were needed they would send back two

thousand priests to fill up the quota. Although, in fact, these troops were not sent out, as no crusade took place, the reply shows the independent attitude of the Swiss.

In ecclesiastical government Switzerland enjoyed an unusual measure of freedom. The people were accustomed to manage their own affairs and resented interference from the clergy in secular matters. Ever since the fourteenth century they had been gradually limiting the field of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the clergy were for the most part subject to the ordinary tribunals. This freedom was not reached without protest, and the struggle was still going on. Disputes with the Church authorities occurred from time to time, particularly in Zurich and Bern. In the latter State the government was in frequent strife with its bishop, and usually got the better of him. At the same time this independence was accompanied with strong respect for the doctrinal authority of the Church and much religious fervour, as may be seen in the many new foundations in honour of the saints, and the abundant pilgrimages. This stands out in curious relief with the loose moral conduct complained of at the end of the century, but the two things are not incompatible.

In the foregoing circumstances we may see reasons why Switzerland had never felt the heavy hand of the Inquisition and why the popes were not severe with that people at the beginning of the reform movement. The papacy was very desirous of keeping on good terms with the Swiss because they were valuable military and political allies.

Education

In depicting the darker side of Swiss society one should not leave the impression that the tendencies of the time were all evil. Reformation was, indeed, imperatively demanded in political and social life, but there were at the same time evidences of intellectual growth which may not be overlooked.

Educational advantages in Switzerland were not as great as in the surrounding countries, but the spirit of the new learning had already taken root. In former times men who were ambitious to pursue wider studies were obliged to go abroad to Paris, Leipzig, Vienna, and other foreign universities, and the Federal Government lightened this task by obtaining advantageous treaty rights for students. In 1460 the University of Basel was opened, founded by the munificence of the learned Pope Pius II., and the Rhine city soon became a centre of enlightenment for an area much larger than Switzerland. This did not prevent scholars from going abroad, but at the same time representative men from all parts of the Confederation were to be found on the list of Basel students, and they met here distinguished lecturers of both native and foreign origin.

Among the Swiss who rose to prominence in the world of scholarship may be mentioned Thomas Wittenbach, who began to teach at Basel, in 1505, as professor of philology and theology. He exerted a great influence upon Zwingli. Heinrich Loriti of Glarus, known to European scholars as

"Glareanus," was one of the greatest lights in humanistic studies. After 1513 the great Erasmus made his home in Basel, not for the purpose of teaching, but in order to supervise the printing of his works. He became the centre of a brilliant company of men devoted to the new learning and to the criticism of existing religious institutions. Few of these scholars went over to the reform movement when it came to an absolute break from the Mother Church, but they were tireless in exhibiting the ignorance and abuses found in it.

Nor were their voices confined to a small circle of hearers, for Basel had become one of the great publishing centres of Europe. Printing made its appearance here not long after its discovery, and was so far advanced in 1471 that a strike of typesetters occurred.[1] At the beginning of the sixteenth century the press of Froben was issuing editions of the classics and of the works of the Humanists which have themselves become classic in the history of typography. Printing was introduced into various Swiss towns in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, but nowhere attained the celebrity of Basel. In Zurich the press could not have been very important, since the oldest known printing dates from the year 1504. The first substantial publication began under Froschauer in 1521, with translations of Erasmus into the vernacular, and with the issue of the writings of Zwingli. This form of the diffusion of knowledge was, however, appreciated by

[1] "Court Records of Basel," published in *Basler Taschenbuch*, 1863, p. 250, and Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, ii., 417.

the educated classes of Switzerland, and as wide use of it was made as the processes of the time would allow.

High schools preparatory to the University were found in a few places previous to the Reformation. At Bern the Humanist who was known as "Johannes à Lapide," returning from a career of teaching in Basel and Paris, opened a school for study of the humanities in the light of the new learning. In this same school taught also Heinrich Wölflin, or "Lupulus," an enthusiastic student of classical antiquity, who had travelled in Italy and Greece, and who was himself a poet of no mean ability. Oswald Myconius at Basel was a teacher of this enlightened order who later transferred his activity to Zurich.

Of primary education not much can be said. Schools were sometimes conducted by the religious houses and cathedral foundations, but a large part of elementary teaching was left to individual enterprise. The lack of text-books made instruction very difficult, but in this respect all countries were alike. Although municipal authorities exercised a supervision over education, public schools had not come into existence. Since teachers depended on their fees for their pay, the rural districts and the smaller towns naturally suffered, and illiteracy was widely prevalent. That private teachers took pupils of all ages for pay may be seen from a schoolmaster's sign which was painted by Holbein in 1516, and which hangs to-day in the Museum of Basel. Freely translated, it reads:

Wer Jemandt hie der gern welt lernen dütsch schriben und läsen
uß dem aller kürtzisten grundt den Jeman erdencken kan do durch
ein Jeder der vor nit ein hůchstaben kan der mag kürtzlich und bald
begriffen ein grundt do durch er mag von jm selbs lernen sin schuld
uff schribē und läsen und wer es nit gelernen kan so ungeschickt
were den will ich vm̄ nut und vergeben gelert haben und gantz nüt
von jm zů lon nem̄en er sig wer er well burger oder hantwercks ge
sellen frouwen und junckfrouwen wer sin bedarff der kum̄ har jn der
wirt drüwlich gelert vm̄ ein zimlichen lon · aber die jungē knabē
und meitlin noch den fronvasten wie gewonheit ist · 1516 ·

SCHOOL SIGN.

"If there is anyone here who desires to learn to write and read German in the shortest possible time that anybody can conceive of, so that anyone who does not know even a letter beforehand can soon understand, so that he can learn to write down and read his accounts for himself, and whoever is so stupid that he cannot learn, I will teach for nothing and take no reward, whoever they may be, citizen or workingman, women or misses: —whoever desires this, come in here and he will be taught for a reasonable price, the boys and girls by the quarter according to the usual custom."

The pictures which accompany this invitation show a schoolroom in which the master and his wife are teaching small children, with the birch rod ever in hand. On the other side of the sign adults are apparently learning German "in the shortest possible time."

A consideration of this period leads to the conclusion that, while brilliant lights were appearing in the literary world, and a great interest was awakening in the better classes for classical learning and the Scriptures, the facilities for educating the people were very inadequate. There was room for the improvements which were introduced by the Swiss Reformers. Yet the educational movement began before the religious revival and was a cause of the Reformation rather than a result. Myconius, the schoolmaster, and Utinger, the studious canon of the Great Minster, were influential Humanists in Zurich, and helped to bring about the call of Zwingli to that city.

The fine arts flourished in Switzerland, though

not to the same degree as in Italy or France. The Renaissance produced several notable artists, of whom Holbein is the greatest. It was the decorative arts, however, which attracted the most attention, for these served the luxury which followed new-gained wealth. From this period date many fine specimens of stained glass, carved furniture, ornamental pottery, and tile-work which do honour to the makers and their patrons. Both public and private buildings show evidences of taste in decoration as well as desire for display.

The Cities

A study of the reform movement in Switzerland shows that the chief centres of agitation were the cities. Furthermore, the governments of the cities had a deciding voice in the acceptance of changes in the organisation of the Church, and even in changes in doctrine. Hence a word is in place as to the nature of this civic life and the character of the authorities which had such important questions to decide.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Switzerland contained numerous flourishing towns, but for size and activity they must be measured by the standards of that age. From our point of view city life was contained in very small space. This is due not only to the fact that the population was smaller, but also because of the fortification which was imperative in the Middle Ages. The drawings and engravings of the period represent the towns

surrounded with walls and moats. These were still necessary according to the existing methods of warfare, for the larger systems of defence of our day had not yet begun, and any town might consider itself liable to attack at some time. Even if certain places were no longer considered strategic points of importance, nevertheless, their ramparts remained to form a kind of boundary of municipal life. In many of them the walls are standing in part or in whole to-day. At Lucerne one side of the city is still flanked by picturesque towers and battlements, and in many other cities ponderous gateways and fragments of fortifications deep in the interior of the town show the lines of its ancient defence and the former limits of its corporate existence.

These various necessities, as well as the popular taste of that time, obliged people to live in what we should now consider contracted quarters. The streets were narrow and winding. The houses were often large, but their rooms were small and low. The better classes enjoyed a high degree of domestic decoration, but the citizens as a whole appeared to be satisfied with a small measure of light and air. The sanitary condition of houses and streets still lacked enlightened attention, although cities were generally careful to provide good water which the people might get for themselves from the public fountains. Public works were to a considerable degree bounded by the necessity of maintaining the fortifications, even if there had been a demand for greater improvements. Hence the civic life was circumscribed, and one is sometimes tempted to say

that the intellectual horizon of the population did not extend much beyond the four walls of their city.

This, however, would be an unfair estimate, and a confusion of intelligence with civic pride. These stone-bound towns manifested the highest degree of local patriotism, and were deeply intent on building up their own material welfare. If this appears at times to be selfish, it is only a part of that individualism which we have already seen in the independence of the States of Switzerland. The cities were the centres of these States and their policies.

Bern, Basel, and eventually Geneva became centres of the reform movement, but in connection with Zwingli the city of Zurich is the more important to consider. The characteristics of the population, their occupations, and their governments were different in each of these places and all had their influence on the change, but Zurich gave the determining impulses at the start.

Zurich

The situation of Zurich was favourable to the development of new ideas. Seated at the head of a lake which was on one of the international routes of travel, it had been, all through the Middle Ages, a point which came in contact with the world at large. Its central location in Switzerland brought it early into the growing Confederation, and from the first it was an influential power in its councils. It came to be a frequent meeting-place of the Federal Diet, and as it was also an agreeable city to live

in, it became the habitual residence of many ambassadors of foreign Powers. They located there in order to be accessible to the authorities of Zurich and to be within easy reach of the Confederation as a whole.

This imparted to the life in Zurich a certain vivacity which was not found in many other places. The presence of the foreign legations with their retinues of servants gave a stimulus to the trade of the city and to the life of its inhabitants. The taverns and public houses were very numerous. The guild-houses were fine specimens of the architecture of that period, as one may still see in a measure at the present day. There was contact with the outer world, and, consequently, a breadth of ideas which would have been found to so high a degree in no other Swiss town, unless it were Basel. From these facts we may explain two important phenomena in the history of Switzerland. We may see why Zurich became the pioneer in religious innovation and in political neutrality toward foreign Powers.

Since Zwingli brought about reform in the Church by means of the civil authorities, the form of government in Zurich should be briefly recapitulated. The city was a municipal republic, but, although all citizens were given theoretically a voice in its management, it was by no means a democracy, like the rural cantons. There were two general classes of people: noble and non-noble ; of which the latter were naturally the more numerous. All male citizens were, however, classified into guilds according to their occupations. The aristocracy, including both

nobility and rich men of affairs, had a special guild of their own, and the trades were grouped in twelve others.

The government of the city was vested in a burgomaster and two councils — the Great and the Small. The smaller council contained fifty members, but only one half of them served at a time. In fact there were two burgomasters elected every year, each serving six months at a time, but the vacating burgomaster sat in the councils till the close of the year. The members of the Small Council were all delegates from the guilds except six councilmen at large and the two burgomasters who acted *ex officio*. This may be called the ordinary working administrative council of the city, the twenty-five who acted at any one time not being an excessive number for executive business.[1]

The Great Council was the real legislature of Zurich, since all matters of larger importance were left to its decision. The constitution of this body had been fixed in the revolution of 1489 and remained the same, not only through Zwingli's time, but down to the year 1798. It was also called the Council of Two Hundred, but the exact number was

[1] The records of Zurich contain the names of the members of this council from the twelfth century onward. So if desired one might find exactly what men were in office in Zwingli's time, and who helped to bring in the Reformation. In the library of the Johns Hopkins University is a large folio MS. written about the year 1578, and entitled "Vom ältesten Regiment der Stadt Zurich, so viel man wissen mag." This is a copy of the official register and gives, along with many historical documents, the names of mayors and councilmen "as far back as anyone knows."

212. It contained the two parts of the Small Council, eighteen delegates from the "Constaffel," or guild of the aristocracy, and twelve from each of the twelve other guilds. The two burgomasters made up the number.

This Council was the highest source of authority in the State, and was empowered to make laws or even change the constitution without consulting the people. As we have seen, there was no general election of members, but rather a representation of groups, which appears at first sight to be either aristocratic or exclusive. But it should be remembered that the great majority of the men of Zurich were small tradesmen or artisans, and that all of them were included in one or another of the guilds. The leadership in these societies may have fallen at times into the hands of a few men, but, on the whole, this legislature was a fairly representative body. Zurich was a small city, and a council of two hundred members chosen out of a body of voters probably not much exceeding one thousand would give a fair chance for an expression of the popular will.

These facts are important to observe when changes in the forms of worship take place in Zurich. It was the Great Council which authorised the various reforms. When Zwingli held his famous disputation in 1523, it was in the City Hall and in the presence of the Two Hundred, and they, having been convinced that he was right, passed ordinances to put the new ideas into effect.

The situation is even better understood when one

examines into the functions of the Council in detail. Innumerable questions came before it, not only respecting the government of the city, but also in connection with feudal possessions in the canton. These latter involved not only the secular administration, but in nineteen country parishes the right to appoint the parish priest.[1] The Council, therefore, was accustomed to handle ecclesiastical matters in a manner more intimate than merely supervisory.

For many years the government had been requiring strict accounts from the monasteries and convents of the whole territory, and in many cases had appointed managers to oversee their properties. The Council was also accustomed to regulate the private conduct of ministers by punishing evil-doers among them, and occasionally went so far as to order a priest to perform religious functions which he had denied. Zurich was particularly set on restricting the jurisdiction of the clergy, and repeated cases just in this period show that the government did not hesitate to challenge the so-called immunities of the Church.[2]

These facts account for the method pursued by Zwingli, and make the reform movement quite different from that of Luther in one respect. The latter also depended on the civil authorities, but he appealed to the princes of Germany, who were little

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[1] Wonderly, Waldmann, p. 157; Appendix, "View of Zurich in 1520."

[2] "Egli, Zürcherische Kirchenpolitik von Waldmann bis Zwingli," *Zürich. Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, bd. xvi.; Kemley, "The Relation of State and Church in Zurich, 1519–1523," Leipzig, Dissertation, 1895.

monarchs in their several provinces. Here it was the people or their representatives who authorised the Reformation. As much might be said of the cities, or of the rural cantons which remained steadfast in the Roman faith — in all cases the people had much to say in the decision.

At this time Zurich contained between 5000 and 7000 inhabitants within its walls, and controlled thirty-five dependent districts outside. Out of the combined population the State could muster about 10,000 men for war. In 1470 there were about 950 households on the tax list of the city proper,[1] and about 52,000 inhabitants in the whole canton. These figures are large only in comparison with other States of Switzerland. Contemporaries considered Zurich the most important of them all.

Within the city a large amount of property was in the hands of ecclesiastics. Besides the cathedral chapter of thirty-four canons there were three parish churches and some twelve chapels. The Benedictine convent, Fraumünster Abbey, had been a retreat for decayed gentlewomen, but was no longer rich nor influential. There were also three convents of mendicant orders and three monasteries for the same class for men.

Of these bodies the cathedral chapter stood in better relations with the government and the citizens. Some of the canons were scholarly men, others desired at least to be considered such, and the rest of

[1] Wunderli, *Hans Waldman*, p. 147, Appendix with statistical tables; Bonstetten, *Descriptio Helvetiæ*, in *Quellen zur Schw. Gesch.*, xiii., 254, etc.

them were influential in one way or another, although not regarded as models of piety. The Augustinians and Capucines were also on good terms with the people, but the Preaching Friars were disliked. They had accumulated a large amount of real estate and houses, and were consequently hated as capitalists and hard taskmasters.[1]

Besides these intramural establishments there were numerous monasteries and chapters scattered about the territory of Zurich,[2] all of which would be affected by any change in the established order of worship. Church-building was not neglected, for some important restorations date from this epoch. The picturesque *Wasserkirche* was built up new at great expense, and the tall, pointed spires which formerly stood on the cathedral were added during the same period. Some of the best village churches of the canton were built about the close of the fifteenth century. Much money was given for religious foundations, masses, and benevolences, and much time was spent in local pilgrimages. Shrines on the Zurichberg, in Leimbach, Altstetten, Küssnacht, and other places in the vicinity had constant visitors. The abbey of Einsiedeln was resorted to by hundreds of citizens and strangers at special seasons, so that the ceremonies of religion were

[1] In 1467 the clergy all told owned 103 houses in the city, and in 1470 the clerical real estate in the canton was assessed at 82,900 gulden out of a total of 506,500 gulden.

[2] In 1470 there are 14 on the tax list. In 1520 the number of foundations is the same. The number of parishes was 103, with about 150 pastors and numerous chaplains (Wunderli, *Waldman*, p. 158).

constantly in view. Yet the social condition of Zurich was bad. Idleness, luxury, and contentions increased in spite of laws and magistrates.

In looking over the two or three decades which introduce the sixteenth century it is seen to be a period of great vitality. Energy, life, movement, have seized the people. They are conscious that some things are wrong and remedies have begun to be applied, but this energy itself has been led into the wrong path. The arts of war appealed to the manly instinct but brought corruption in their train. The triumphs of intellect and the conquests of the new learning had at first great difficulty in making headway, because the Swiss were for the time preoccupied with things military and in the enjoyment of ill-gotten gains. Into this path they had been enticed, not only by the powers of this world, but by the apostolic representative of the kingdom of light. No single State of Switzerland was at first powerful enough to hinder this decline, and the feeble Federal Government met it only with resolutions, which stood a moment unobeyed and were then repealed. It was logical, therefore, that the movement which bears the name of Zwingli should begin with an attack upon political corruption and appeal to the patriotic sentiment of the free-born Swiss citizen.

It remained for one man and one city to start the reaction in earnest. The result was the Reformation.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

1484–1506

HULDREICH ZWINGLI, the Reformer of German Switzerland, was born on Thursday, January 1, 1484, in a house which still stands in well-nigh perfect preservation. It is in the hamlet called Lysighaus, *i. e.*, Elizabeth house, ten minutes' walk from the parish church of Wildhaus, or, as it was then called, Wildenhaus, a village in the Toggenburg Valley, in Switzerland, at its highest point, 3600 feet above sea-level, and about forty miles east by south of Zurich. It is perhaps twenty-five feet deep by thirty feet wide, and, like many other Swiss peasant houses, has a peaked roof and overhanging eaves. It is two stories high, has a hall running through the ground floor, and the large room on the right as you enter is shown as that in which the great event occurred.[1]

[1] Incidental proof of the year of Zwingli's birth is afforded by his remark in a letter written on September 17, 1531: "I am forty-eight" (viii., 644). It is here mentioned once for all that the references thus given are always by volume and page to the edition of

Zwingli was not born in poverty, as his future fellow Reformer Luther had been seven weeks before, at Eisleben, twenty-five miles west of Halle, in Saxony; nor of common people, nor was he raised in the school of adversity. On the contrary, the family were in comfortable circumstances, and were prominent in their community. The carved rafters in their living-room bear silent testimony to this fact, as the poorer people did not have them. But we are not left to that sort of evidence. Zwingli's father was, as his father's father had been, the *Ammann*, *i. e.*, chief magistrate, or bailiff, of the village, and his father's brother was the village priest; while his mother's brother Johann became abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Fischingen; and a near relative was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Old St. John's, only two miles west from Wildhaus.[1] Further proof that Zwingli's parents were well-to-do or could command money is the fact that Zwingli received about as good an education as the times afforded, and yet there is no evidence that his father or other relatives had to pinch themselves to bring this about.

Zwingli's father was a farmer and raiser of flocks and herds. Three of Zwingli's younger brothers and

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Zwingli's complete works in German and Latin, by Schuler and Schulthess, Zurich, 1828–42, 8 vols., Supplement, 1861. But inasmuch as volume ii. is in 3 parts, and volume vi. is in 2 parts, it is needful also to remark that the references to those volumes are to volume, part, and page, *e. g.*, ii., 2, 3, means vol. ii., part 2, page 3; and so in similar cases.

[1] See the excursus on Zwingli's parents, uncles, brothers, and sisters at the end of this chapter.

ZWINGLI'S BIRTHPLACE, WILDHAUS.

two of his older followed his father in these pursuits, but Zwingli himself left home too young to have had any practical acquaintance with the life, except perhaps for a few months. The allusions he makes to his childhood are interesting, and it were good if they were more numerous. Thus he says: "We recognise the profound compassion of God in that He was willing to have His Son, in the tenderness of His youth, suffer poverty for our sakes, so that we, instructed by our parents from our earliest years, might bear even with joyfulness our evil things and deprivation itself."[1] Again he says: "My grandmother has often told me a story about the way Peter and the Lord conducted themselves toward one another. It seems that they used to sleep in the same bed. But Peter was on the outside, and every morning the woman of the house would waken him by pulling his hair."[2] Again: "When I was a child, if any one said a word against our Fatherland, I bristled up instantly."[3] Again: "From boyhood I have shown so great and eager and sincere a love for an honourable Confederacy that I trained myself diligently in every art and discipline for this end."[4]

Little Zwingli was taught to observe nature, and how well he learned the lesson may be concluded from the following passage in one of the latest of his treatises, that on Divine Providence:

"Do not the creatures of the race of rodents trumpet forth the wisdom and providence of the Godhead? The

[1] I., 98. [2] I., 524. [3] II., 2, 300. [4] VII., 237.

hedgehog with its spines most cleverly carries a large quantity of fruit to its dwelling-place, by rolling over the fruit and planting its spines in it. Alpine rats, or marmots, which we now call the mountain rats, station one of their number upon an elevation, that, as they run about intent upon their work, no sudden danger may fall upon them without his timely cry of warning, while meantime the rest of the band carry off the softest hay from all around. And when they need waggons they turn themselves into waggons by turns, one lying upon his back and holding fast with all his feet the hay loaded upon his belly and chest, while another seizes by the tail his comrade thus transformed into a chariot, and drags him with the plunder to their dwelling-place to enable them to sleep through the inclemency of the harsh winter season. The squirrel, dragging a broad bit of wood to the shore by its mouth, uses it as a boat to cross the water, hoisting its bushy tail, and being thus driven by the favouring breeze needs no other sail. What word, what speech, pray, can proclaim the divine wisdom as well as these creatures which are among almost the humblest of living things? And do not things without sensation bear witness that the power and goodness and vivifying force of the Godhead are ever with them? The earth, that nourishes all things, forgets the wounds inflicted by hoe and plough, and refuses not to furnish rich provision; the dew and rain so rouse and fill and replenish all streams, which by their increase stay the harm of thirst, that by their wondrous growth they bear witness to the presence of the divine power and life. The mountains, dull, clumsy, lifeless mass that they are, hold fast and strengthen the earth as bones do the flesh; they bar the way to passage or make it difficult; though heavier than the surface of the earth, they swim upon it and

sink not in; do they not proclaim the invincible power of the Godhead, and the solidity and vastness of His grandeur ? " [1]

The admiration of Swiss scenery is commonly said to date from Rousseau. At all events, Zwingli has left no record of the fact that the scenery about his early home is of the best description.[2] As he stood on his father's doorstep he could see the seven jagged peaks of the Churfirsten across the narrow valley, and if he turned to go to the high-road, which then ran higher up on the mountain-side than it does now, he came almost under the shadow of the Sentis; and both these ranges are snow-capped even in summer. But though not taught to appreciate such attractions any more than other Swiss children, and impressed more by the mountains' cold than their beauty, he received in all other respects a good home training. The fact that he and two of his younger brothers became scholars, and his brother James a monk, while he entered the priesthood, indicates the strong trend of the family ambition toward culture and piety.

It was natural that when his father determined to make a priest out of Huldreich he should have given him over to his brother for education. If this brother had been like most priests — rooted in

[1] IV., 92, 93.

[2] Myconius, Zwingli's personal friend and earliest biographer, fancifully says: "For my part, I have more than once thought, in my simple mindedness, that he [Zwingli] drew some of his heavenliness directly from the heavens near which he lived."— *Vita Zuinglii*, ed. Neander, Berlin, 1841, p. 3. This biography is hereafter quoted merely as Myconius, giving the page of this edition.

conservatism—he would have had him taught by the old-style teachers. But in the providence of God he was a friend of the movement away from scholasticism, which was gathering fresh force every day. Zwingli might have been as good a Toggenburger, as loyal a Swiss, and as holy a man, as he became, even if he had been trained on the old lines, but not the broad-minded patriot, theologian, and Reformer if he had been. It is therefore not too much to say that we owe the Zwingli of history to the fact that his father's brother was a friend of the New Learning.

In 1487, Bartholomew Zwingli removed from Wildhaus to Wesen, a town on the western end of the now little visited but grand and striking Lake of Walenstadt. It was only a matter of a dozen miles to the south-west of Wildhaus, but the bristling Churfirsten came between.[1] Wesen was the market-town of the district, and Bartholomew had scarcely been inducted into his rectory before he was promoted to be *dekan*, or superintendent, which made him a person of considerable importance and influence.[2] In the rectory at Wesen Zwingli lived

[1] There is a rough path leading from Wildhaus over the Käserruck, 7435 feet above sea-level, in six hours to Walenstadt on the east end of the Lake of Walenstadt. Doubtless it was by this path that Bartholomew and, later, Zwingli himself came to Walenstadt, whence a ten-mile row would bring them to Wesen. *Cf.* Baedeker, ed. 1897, p. 46.

[2] E. Egli has published several documents of rare interest relative to Bartholomew Zwingli. The first is his formal acceptance of the call to Wesen, dated January 29, 1487, see *Zwingliana* (Zurich, 1899), pp. 32 *sqq.* for the text and *Analecta Reformatoria* (Zurich, 1899), i., pp. 1, 2 for the annotations; the second, his resignation from Wildhaus, dated May 18, 1487, see *Analecta*, pp. 3, 4.

VIEW OF WESEN, WHERE ZWINGLI'S EARLY BOYHOOD WAS SPENT.

with his uncle, and in the parish school under his uncle's direction he made his first acquaintance with learning. But as it was soon evident that he had the making of a scholar in him his uncle sent him in 1494 to Basel, or rather to Klein Basel, which is that part of the city on the east bank of the Rhine, to the school of St. Theodore's Church,[1] kept by that gentle and wise master, Gregory Buenzli, in whom Zwingli found a fatherly friend.[2]

The curriculum of a school like Buenzli's was Latin,[3] dialectic, and music. The scarcity of text-books, for frequently there was only one for the class, often compelled the teachers to resort to dictation. Zwingli was a brilliant pupil, and in spite of all obstacles in four years outgrew Buenzli's instruction, and was sent home for a fresh start. One of his noticeable qualities was his readiness in debate, which excited the jealousy of some of his older

[1] The church still stands on Wettstein Place, near the river.

[2] Master and pupil afterwards carried on an intimate correspondence, but only three letters of it remain. Two are from Buenzli (vii., 111 and 567), dated February 3, 1520, and December 1, 1526, respectively; the first of which shows that Buenzli, who in 1507 (Egli, *Analecta*, i., 2) succeeded Bartholomew Zwingli as pastor at Wesen, was still there in 1520, the latter having died in 1513; the second, that Buenzli was in 1526 failing mentally. The one from Zwingli (vii., 257), dated December 30, 1522, alludes to the length and intimacy of their friendship and shows quite characteristic interest in promoting the affairs of one of Buenzli's friends. Zwingli acknowledges Buenzli's activity in the cause of the Reformation in his "Instructions for Walenstadt," dated December 13, 1530 (ii., 3, 86).

[3] In 1526 (vii., 535), Zwingli speaks of learning Latin from Cato's "Morals" (a favourite reading-book in schools), by means of an interlinear translation.

companions.[1] Probably on the advice of his uncle Bartholomew, he was sent to Bern, which involved a journey of one hundred miles westward. There he entered the school of Heinrich Woelflin, or, as he called himself, following the humanistic fashion of the time and Latinising his name, Lupulus, who was the first one in Switzerland to adopt in their entirety the educational ideas of the Renascence. But he was there only from 1498 to 1500, and as no letter to or from Lupulus is extant in the Zwingli correspondence, it is probable that his second teacher did not attract him like the first.[2] The occasion of his leaving him was, however, no dissatisfaction with his instruction, but his taking up his abode in the Dominican monastery. What induced him to do so was apparently the training the monks promised him in music, for music was a passion with Zwingli, and he was already an accomplished player on various instruments. What attracted the monks was his intellectual powers in general. But God did not intend that Zwingli should be a monk, as Luther was, and as Zwingli's brother James was later, and the means He used was the opposition of his father,—and may we not say especially of his uncle ?—and Zwingli was taken out of the way of temptation and sent to the University of Vienna. There he was for another two years, and " included in his studies all that philo-

[1] So Myconius, p. 4.

[2] Yet Lupulus accepted the Reformation, probably under Haller's influence, and played a prominent part in the Reformed Church of Bern. He died in 1534.

sophy embraces''[1]; and so he very likely came under the influence of Conrad Celtes, who was the most prominent classical teacher in the university. In 1502 he matriculated at Basel.[2]

Zwingli had up to this time been merely a student, but he was now old enough to earn his own support. Accordingly, when after a visit to Wildhaus he went once more to Basel there to study in the university, he sought an opportunity to teach, and he is found as a teacher of the classics in the school attached to St. Martin's church.[3] In the university he studied the

[1] Myconius, p. 4.

[2] His name stands thus on the summer semester matricula of 1500 in Vienna University:

Udalricus Zwingling de Lichtensteig . ..... 29 den.

In the summer semester matricula of 1502 in Basel his name appears fourth in a list of thirteen entered under the rectorship of Johannes Wenz, which began May 1, thus:

Udalricus Zwingling de Lichtensteig.....vi. sol.

These entries are printed in Egli's *Analecta Reformatoria*, i., pp. 8–10. It is noteworthy how Zwingli's name was then spelled. He seems to have varied the spelling himself. In 1526 a literary opponent twitted him for changing his name from Zwingli to Zwinglius (vii., 551). Zinlius is the form used by Grebel, see *Die vadianische Briefsammlung*, ed. Arbenz, *e. g.*, iii., 50. The abbreviations at the ends of the lines quoted above give the amount of the matriculation fees: 29 den. means 29 denaries or pence; vi. sol. means 6 sous. Lichtensteig or Liechtensteig was the nearest market-town to Wildhaus, and so given as the better known place to hail from.

[3] The church still stands, but the school has vanished. It is near the market-place. The excellence of his instruction was testified to long afterwards by one of his grateful pupils who became a prominent man and who wrote to him in 1519 (vii., 85). Myconius says p. 4. Zwingli was head-master of St. Martin's school, but considering his age at the time this is improbable.

ordinary curriculum in the arts course, and this included theology, which was taught in the scholastic manner, and so, judging from his later remarks upon the way theology was presented, he was more disgusted than edified.[1] Still he made thorough work. In 1504 he took his B.A., and in 1506 his M.A.[2]

In the latter year, 1506, he received a call to be rector at Glarus, and as this is only a few miles south of Wesen and was included in the superintendency of Wesen, it is plain that his uncle Bartholomew was a main factor in the call. After what self-debates we know not, but probably after something of a struggle, Zwingli, who had been by choice a student and teacher of the classics, turned his back upon such pursuits to take up the busy life of a pastor, to whom teaching could not be the sole occupation.

But before he arrived at such a momentous change he had had his thoughts upon theology powerfully affected by contact with Thomas Wyttenbach, who after having been teacher at Tuebingen, on November 26, 1505, began to lecture at Basel upon the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard, this systematic introduction to the Fathers being the text-book in every mediæval university. Wyttenbach was a man with a message, and found in Zwingli a receptive hearer, who accepted certain of his ideas which were called heretical, and ever after defended them. In 1523 he thus bears testimony to his indebtedness to Wyttenbach:

[1] See Myconius, p. 5.

[2] Egli (*Analecta Reformatoria*, i., p. 11) gives the text of these promotions.

VIEW OF THE RHINE AT BASEL, SHOWING ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH IN THE FOREGROUND,
IN WHOSE SCHOOL ZWINGLI TAUGHT, 1502-1506.

"In the beginning of this year (for I came to Zurich on St. John the Evangelist's Day [1519]) none of us had ever heard of Luther, except that he had published something upon indulgences — a subject on which I did not require much enlightenment because I had already been taught what a cheat and delusion indulgences were by my master and beloved faithful teacher, Doctor Thomas Wyttenbach, of Biel, who had held at Basel some time before in my absence a disputation on the subject." [1]

In 1527, he again speaks of Thomas Wyttenbach, "most learned and holiest of men," as teaching him that "the death of Christ was the sole price of the remission of sins," and "therefore that faith is the key which unlocks to the soul the treasury of [such] remission." [2] Another of Wyttenbach's ideas, which Zwingli emphasised later, was the supreme authority of Holy Scripture. So although their connection was of the briefest description, not lasting more than a few months, still Wyttenbach made a permanent impression, and may well be reckoned among the influences which ultimately led him to break away entirely with Mother Church.[3]

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[1] I., 254, in his exposition of the "Articles" of the Zurich disputation of January, 1523.

[2] III., 544, in his reply to Luther.

[3] Wyttenbach was born at Biel, or Bienne, sixty miles west by south of Zurich, in 1472, and died there in 1526. In 1496 he was matriculated at Tuebingen, made M.A. there in 1500. In Basel he lectured from 1505 to 1507, when he became people's priest in Biel and was to the rest of his days identified with that place. He showed his independence and his defiance of ecclesiastical authority by marrying in 1524, and from that time on his troubles were incessant. He was deprived of his position, and just when he had increased need of money he found himself without any, and till the

Three men who afterwards were destined to play prominent parts in the Swiss Reformation were fellow students with Zwingli under Wyttenbach, viz., Capito, Jud, and Pellican, and likewise owed to him their direction to the study of the Bible and emancipation from the bondage of Scholasticism. Jud, in fact, gave up medicine for theology in consequence.

Excursus on Zwingli's Parents, Uncles, Brothers, and Sisters.

The last mention of Zwingli's father, whose first name also was Huldreich, is in his brother James's letter, dated in 1513, and given below. How much longer he lived is unknown. His mother, whose name was Margaret Meili, is not mentioned in any precedent or subsequent letter to or from Zwingli, or elsewhere, but he once speaks of his grandmother in the passage (i., 524) quoted above, *cf.* p. 51. His father's brother, Bartholomew, died at Wesen in 1513, as already stated. His mother's brother, Johann, became abbot of Fischingen, twenty miles east by north of Zurich, in 1510, and so continued till his death in 1523. Abbot Christian of Old St. John's was a relative, but on which side is unknown. He was on very intimate terms with the family, as the Zwingli correspondence shows, and had the satisfaction of receiving James Zwingli as a monk; see the letters of

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end of his days was miserably poor. But though in dire need he pleaded the case of spiritual freedom and kept up a gallant fight. His exertions won over many to the Reformation, and while he lay dying his heart was gladdened by the thought that his beloved native city was about to be numbered with the other Reformed cities of Switzerland. He and Zwingli were frequent correspondents, yet only one letter has been preserved, viz., a long one by Zwingli on the Eucharist, dated June 15, 1523 (vii., 297–300). It is addressed "to his dear preceptor and brother in Christ at Biel." Zwingli sends him a greeting as "his dear preceptor" in a letter to Haller, December 29, 1521 (vii., 187).

James and Andrew below, and, *passim*, in the Zwingli correspondence. On January 14, 1520, he wrote a very deferential letter to Zwingli (vii., 109), asking his aid in securing additional revenue for the monastery. In 1528, he was driven from his monastery by a mob, but was later restored. In 1555, his monastery was annexed to the abbey of St. Gall, which was founded by the Benedictines.

The names and order of the birth of the brothers and sisters of the Zwingli family were: Heini (also called Hainy or Henry), Klaus (or Nicholas), Huldreich (also called Ulrich), Hans, Wolfgang, Bartholomäus, Jacob (or James), Anna, Andrew, and an unnamed daughter. Of *Heini* there has been preserved one letter (viii., 430, 431), dated from Old St. John's, March 9, 1530. It promises Zwingli the earliest obtainable information from trustworthy friends on the Rhine concerning any action which affected him. The letter has as joint author a certain Hans Rudlig, and so it is in their joint names. The probability is that Heini could not write any more easily (if at all) than the brothers named above, except James and Andrew. So Blasius Farer, on December 9, 1524, wrote to Zwingli from Stein, "by the command" of his brothers (vii., 372). As is the case with other letters in the Zwingli correspondence, these letters from Heini and Farer are in both German and Latin, the German being doubtless the original. Of *Klaus* we know that he had a servant who died of the plague, see Andrew's letter, p. 65. *Huldreich* is the subject of this biography. Of *Hans*, *Wolfgang*, and *Bartholomäus* we know nothing personal. From the fact that in 1523 he addresses his surviving brothers collectively in the dedication of his sermon on the Virgin Mary (i., 84–87), it is known that they were living in Wildhaus together and pursuing the calling of farmers, shepherds, and goatherds, just as their fathers had done; and that much to his disgust some of them had entered the mercenary military service. It is likely that they accepted the Reformation.

Zwingli sent *James* to Vadian's care with this letter of introduction, dated Glarus, October 4, 1512 (vii., 7), and accompanied it with an historical sketch of the 1512 Italian campaign of the Glarus contingent in the papal army. (See p. 71.) "The bearer of this is my own brother, a boy of good promise; when I thought over to whom to send him to be initiated into the sacred mysteries of philosophy, you always occurred to me. Therefore, I beseech you by the sweetness of our friendship that you polish, smooth, and finish him with

plane, axe, and rake. I am sure you will find him most obedient. But if he dare to be disobedient, shut him up without compassion until his petulance effervesces. He has 50 gold pieces for the two years, so that he will need to be economical."

That James considered his allowance altogether too small is shown by this letter, the only one of his preserved (vii., 7):

"Brother James Zwingli[1] to Huldreich Zwingli, philosopher and rector at Glarus. Greeting: Would that the All swaying and supremely Good God would so bring it about that you might estimate my studies as highly as I do your liberality and brotherly kindness! And I do not despair of this; for I can be advanced so much by your example and exhortations (not to leave room for which would be degeneracy), also by Master Joachim Vadianus, whose pupil I now am; I am nourished by the flowers and rivulets of all the sciences, from which it would be a crime for those ignorant of philosophy to withdraw. Therefore, let me not be defiled by this wrong or that; doubt not that I will strive with perennial energy. Yet one anxiety is left; I cannot live for two years upon the 50 gold pieces allowed me. I do not complain of this, by Mars, because I am given to high living. By Hercules! I live pretty roughly. I live upon the food carried away from the dinner table; I am compelled to drink water which can be made by no benediction to lose its original bad taste. In accordance with the warning of Joachim, let 50 gold pieces be added to the 15 I received, and this you would assent to if you knew the circumstances. When I reached Vienna, only 11 remained, so expensive was the journey, and of them I spent 7 for books and then bought a bed. Assuredly money slipped so quickly out of my hands that there is hardly a penny left. Then there are 19 florins to be paid the procurator for food and 5 yearly to Joachim, so that unless I can look for 30 gold pieces a year study cannot be carried on. Therefore, my brother, on your side take things in good part, and make your ears gracious to my appeal, and I will on my part always respect your wishes.

"Concerning my studies I cannot write more, as I have hardly tasted them. I gain very little from the reading of Pliny as I lack a copy. I hear with the greatest attention lectures on Lactantius's *De Opificium* and the rest from [John] Camertes [professor of theology], the most learned man in Vienna at this time. I hear the

[1] The word "frater" in the inscription of this letter means brother in the monastic sense.

Letters of Cicero by our Joachim and the text of the *Sentences* [of Peter Lombard] from a certain Father, a bachelor of letters. I study, unwillingly though, the *Dialectics*, and I hear this, that, and the other, which it is not necessary to speak of. Though it will be seen how far I shall profit by any particular course when I have put the finishing touch to it. So much for this.

"As to the money, do your part that what is coming to me may be handed to Francis Zili, citizen of St. Gall, grandfather of Valentine Tschudi, so that it may reach me by March 23d. I have written the same thing to the abbot [probably that of St. John's], and by command of my instructor I have asked father for a good new coat. So see to it they get their letters as soon as possible, so that all may be done at an early date. Have them read through this one's letter to the *dekan* [of Wesen, Bartholomew Zwingli, James's uncle] as soon as possible. I and the writer of this [*i. e.*, Valentine] are in one boat. Urge Valentine's relatives to be liberal, for though they are rich they are very frugal.

"If there is any news let me have it. Not far from us a doubtful conflict has been fought between the Hungarians and the Turks, and this terrifies the Austrians. Do not be angry at this unpolished letter. Farewell! The good fortune of Metellus[1] and the years of Nestor be yours. Greet our respected John, Dr. Gregory [pastor] of Swandon, my comrade Fridolin, and my sister [of Glarus].

"Vienna, at the house of Saint Jerome, January 23, 1513."

When James went to Vienna he was already a monk, (see above), and so his matriculation entry in the winter semester of 1512 reads:

Fr[ater] Jacobus Zwinglin professus ad s. Joannem prope Apezell.....4 grossos.

This fact about James Zwingli was first published by Egli, *Analecta*, i., 12. Valentine Tschudi's name comes on the next line of the matricula. James died a monk in the Scotch monastery in Vienna in the year 1517. Zwingli, writing to Vadian, June 13, 1517 (vii., 24), says: "God Almighty knows how much grief has been cast upon me by the sudden death of my brother, to whom you showed every attention that your kindest of kind hearts could suggest." John James a Liliis introduces himself to Zwingli in a letter from Paris,

[1] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonius, the Roman censor who died 115 B.C., and whose name has passed into a proverb of human happiness.

October 21, 1518 (vii., 49), as an intimate friend of Zwingli's deceased brother James.

Anna married Leonard Tremp, a master tailor in Bern, who eventually became a leading citizen and was an ardent promoter of the Reformation there. Four letters from him to Zwingli have been preserved, all in German with a Latin translation: vii., 483, in which he warns Zwingli against going to the Baden conference lest he be murdered on the way; viii., 23, in which he speaks of various cantonal matters; viii., 195, which seems to be imperfect; viii., 276, in which alone does he mention his wife, confesses his personal fault in regard to the treaty between Geneva and Bern, which Zwingli had strongly deprecated; and one letter to him and Zwingli, vii., 524. These letters show the intimate footing he stood on with Zwingli. So in the letter from Haller to Zwingli, dated January 28, 1522 (vii., 189), Tremp and his wife are thus mentioned: "Tremp, most affectionate of your friends, and his most worthy wife are well and hope that you are also in the best of health." And Zwingli sends remembrances to Tremp when writing to Bern, *e. g.*, vii., 319. It was from Tremp's house that Megander and Haller wrote to Zwingli on March 2, 1531 (viii., 583).

In regard to *Andrew*, who was apparently the youngest of the family, there is a little more known. He was an inmate of Zwingli's house in Zurich when the plague broke out in midsummer of 1519. Zwingli was then at Pfaefers, but on his return to Zurich sent Andrew for safety's sake to his brothers at Wildhaus, where he and his brothers were well when on January 14, 1520 (vii., 109, 110), the abbot of Old St. John's wrote to Zwingli. Then Zwingli took sick himself. Not knowing the reason for his silence, Andrew wrote the first of the two letters given below, all that remain of their correspondence. As soon as he could, Zwingli transferred him to his (Zwingli's) unmarried sister's care at Glarus, and sent him to school there (see Andrew's second letter). When it seemed safe to do so, Zwingli recalled him to Zurich, but, alas! the lad took the plague and died on November 18, 1520. Zwingli thus announced to his bosom friend, Myconius (vii., 155), the death of this dear brother:

"Zwingli to Myconius. Greeting. I am doubtful whether the evils which befall me (if they are evils), ought to be communicated to you, who are a man of most sympathetic disposition. For I fear that if I do not warn you beforehand you will fall into unrestrained grief, so regardful are you of me. And yet I beseech that you will

WILDHAUS, LOOKING SOUTH, SHOWING VIEW OF CHURFIRSTEN.

endure my misfortunes with a calm mind, even as I myself endure them. Because now I endure with equanimity what formerly threw me into spasms of grief and mourning more than feminine, when I was suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed with sorrow. Still I recovered myself, so that now once more I stand firm. Thanks be to God! And so do you take it calmly when I tell you of the death of my brother Andrew, a youth of great promise and excellent parts, whom the plague slew on St. Elizabeth day [November 19], envious (I think) of our blood and renown. Had he lived a year longer he would have come to you [at Lucern] to be instructed by you and your son in Greek. But so far am I from remonstrating with God that I am ready to offer myself. Enough of this.

"I am awaiting your letter and those manifold songs recommended by Zimmerman, for which our people here are looking daily.

"Farewell, and love me in my bereavement as you are accustomed to do. Except for my loss the plague grows no worse, for I do not know that within a month or so more than four or five have died. I send my good wishes for your wife and children, Zimmerman, the Provisor, and all.

"Zurich, November 25, 1520.

"P. S. I am not at home, driven out rather by the persuasions of my friends, than by my own fears of death, and I shall soon return. So you will not wonder that this letter is not sealed in my usual fashion. Francis Zinck greets you."

As Zinck was papal chaplain at Einsiedeln it is likely that Zwingli was there when he wrote this letter.

The two letters of Andrew Zwingli (vii., 88, 89), already mentioned, are as follows:

I. "Andrew Zwingli to Huldreich Zwingli. Greeting. I wish you would inform me, my dear brother, how you are; for we do not know whether you are well, since you have written nothing. You said when I came away that the abbot [of Old St. John's] should soon receive a letter from you; but I see that he has not. What the delay is I do not see. But the abbot seems to me (it is only my inference) to take it hard that you do not write to him more frequently, and that you passed by him when you had been at Pfaefers. You should know that the pestilence is raging here, for seven or eight have died. We are all safe thus far by the will of God. But our brother Nicholas's servant has died, but not in his house. The abbot and our brothers tell me to send you their greetings; the

abbot adds that you are to write to him when your business will allow you. I beg and beseech that you will ever have me commended to you.

"Farewell, and take this in good part. Greet for me your colleagues and your family.

"Yours,

"ANDREW ZWINGLI.

"Thursday before the Feast of St. Gall [*i. e.*, October 13], 1519."

II. "Andrew Zwingli to Huldreich Zwingli. Greeting. A certain incredible tide of joy swept over me, dear brother, on reading your letter, from which I perceive that you are convalescing daily. What more pleasing news could I have than that you are well! For you have deserved so well of me that I cannot render an equivalent. Nevertheless, I shall always be prepared to serve you to the best of my ability with hands and feet. And he shall not see Andrew alive who sees him forgetful of you!

"You write also that I must add some Greek to the Latin, so that I may not forget what I have learned with so much pains. Still I think you know that there is no one here who cares a straw for Greek, except the school-master, and business so distracts him that he has no leisure. You advise me not to go to beasts of this sort. I so approve of the advice you give me in so brotherly a manner that I will no more approach those equine beasts. I will certainly do so and grow wise through painful experience, according to the proverb: 'A burnt child dreads the fire.'

"As to the books of which you write, you may understand that I received all, both Elmer's and mine, and he himself gave me the money. You know that I am now well, and that I desire you to inform me how you are. Farewell. The school-master and Hirudæus, Elmer, and my sister tell me to send you greetings. Farewell again and again, bear with me kindly and ever put me among those who are most fond of you.

"GLARUS [November ?], 1519.

"You will greet in my name your assistants and your family. Also salute in my behalf most diligently my teacher Myconius, and Luchsinger.

"Yours,

"ANDREW ZWINGLI."

The unnamed sister of Zwingli was married in Zurich in 1524 to Zwingli's friend, John James Ammann (vii., 341). The marriage

could not have lasted long, for Zwingli, writing on March 12, 1529 (viii., 270), speaks of Huldreich Stoll as his sister's husband and apparently alludes to the same sister. She died at Glarus in 1579 and left descendants. She is mentioned in the letters of James and Andrew given above.

Blasius Farer, writing on October 23, 1525 (vii., 422), to Zwingli from Stein, eleven miles east of Wildhaus, the place already mentioned on p. 61, alludes to the fact that Cunhart Clauser, the public clerk of Thur, had married one of Zwingli's relatives.

CHAPTER II

AT GLARUS

1506–1516

SEVEN and a half miles south of Wesen and forty-three miles south-east of Zurich, upon a little plain guarded by lofty mountains, lies Glarus; and thither Zwingli, in the fall of 1506, went as parish priest.[1] It was an important charge, for three considerable villages—Netstall, two miles north, Ennenda, one mile south, and Mitloedi, two and a half miles south—as well as the town of Glarus were comprehended in this parish — in fact nearly one third of the canton.

But as Zwingli was a layman when he received the call, he had to be ordained, and may have gone to Constance for this purpose. Certain it is he

[1] His predecessor was Johannes Stucki. Heinrich Göldli, a young Zuricher of a prominent family, but already a pluralist, indeed a speculator in church livings, laid claim to the place on the strength of a letter of investiture from the Pope, Julius II., whose "courtesan," *i. e.*, hanger-on, Göldli was. Zwingli was compelled to buy him off at an expense of more than a hundred gulden, twenty of which were made up to him by his congregation when he left them. *Cf.* vii., 237, and allusion in ii., 1, 2. Göldli was not, however, entirely silenced until he received a papal pension in 1512. *Cf.* Hottinger-Wirz, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, iii., 299; Schuler, *Zwingli's Bildungsgeschichte*, p. 302. For additional evidence of Göldli's grasping and rascally character, see vii., 183; and also Professor Vincent's chapter, pp. 29–31.

VIEW OF RAPPERSWYL IN ZWINGLI'S DAY.

THE BUILDING ON THE LEFT IN THE UPPER PART OF THE PRINT IS THE CHURCH IN WHICH HE PREACHED HIS FIRST SERMON.

preached his first sermon at Rapperswyl, in the church at the back of the old castle on the promontory jutting out into the Lake of Zurich and twenty-seven miles from that city. And on Michaelmas day, which that year (1506) came on Tuesday, September 29th, he read his first mass in the parish church at Wildhaus. He then went to Glarus.[1]

[1] None of these churches thus associated with his early life now exists. The church at Rapperswyl was burnt in 1881. If that now on its site is the same size as the old church it must have been quite large, as the view in this volume shows. At Wildhaus there are now two churches. That on the present high-road is the Reformed and is modern, but is probably on the site of the parish church in Zwingli's time; the one directly back of it is also comparatively new and belongs to the Roman Catholics. The church wherein he officiated at Glarus was burnt in the conflagration which well-nigh destroyed the town on Friday, May 10, 1861, and upon its site is a building containing the Law Courts, the Public Library, and a small museum. The principal church of the place is some little distance from it, and is used by the Roman Catholics and the Reformed together. But as it was built subsequent to the fire and is used by the same union congregation, it may be considered as keeping up the connection with Zwingli, for Zwingli was not followed into the Reformed faith by all his congregation, and his successor ministered to both communions in the same church! The only relic of Zwingli preserved at Glarus is a very interesting one, viz., the silver chalice used by him in celebrating the Eucharist. It is in the keeping of the Roman Catholic priest, who, however, courteously shows it to Protestant pilgrims. The Reverend Professor William J. Hinke of Ursinus College, in the *Reformed Church Record* for November 25, 1897, thus describes it: "It is like a flat bowl in shape, four inches wide, while the whole cup is but five inches high. The foot of the cup is adorned by four seals, containing pictures of the four evangelists, together with their symbolical representations. The stem of the cup has projecting knobs with rosettes adorning the ends. On the base is scratched 'Calixi Uly Zwingli, 1516.'" On August 23, 1897, Professor Hinke made the photograph which is reproduced in this volume.

To the Glarean period of Zwingli's life belong the earliest of his compositions which have been preserved, and which were circulated in manuscript during his lifetime, but not published until after his death. They consist of two rhymed productions in the vernacular, dating from 1510; and an account of the doings of the Glarean contingent in Italy in 1512. The so-called poems are not much better than doggerel in rhymed couplets. The first, entitled "The Labyrinth," is the story of Theseus, Ariadne, and the Minotaur. Applying the classical myth he makes the thread reason; the Minotaur shame or sins and vices; Ariadne the reward of virtue. On his way to the Minotaur Theseus passes several pictures of animals on the sides of the labyrinth which at first startle him. These animals are allegorically explained as enemies of the Swiss. So the poem is an allegory of Switzerland in the midst of its foes, the pensionaries, *i. e.*, those who in the pay of foreign Powers hired out their countrymen for foreign military service.

The second so-called poem is still more decidedly allegorical, but has much less interest and general merit. It is entitled "The Ox and the other Beasts." It is a tame picture of the Swiss (the ox), surrounded by cats (pensionaries), and attended by a faithful dog (the national feeling), alternately the victim of the wiles or the attacks of the lion (France) and the fox (Venice). The shepherd (the Pope) endeavours to deliver it from its foes. The application is throughout obviously to the practice which had grown up of distributing pensions among prominent

Swiss in order to secure their countrymen for military service in foreign countries.[1]

The third composition is much more interesting and important. It was written in Latin inside of three hours — much of Zwingli's work was done hastily.[2] It relates the doings of the mercenaries who went from Glarus into Italy in 1512, and is the sole specimen we have of Zwingli as an historian. It is proof that if he had devoted himself to history he would have excelled.[3]

Accepting the historical sketch just alluded to as based on personal observation, Zwingli went three times to Italy as chaplain of the Glarus contingent, in 1512, in 1513, and again in 1515, and

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[1] The two poems are printed in ii., 2, 243–268, with prefaces and translations into modern high German. Zwingli himself translated the second poem into Latin and his translation is also given. His dear friend, Loriti, the distinguished Humanist, did not consider this rendering altogether a success (vii., 4).

[2] IV., 167–172. In its hasty composition it resembles his first publication, "A Godly Exhortation," etc., which was thought out, as the preface informs us, written, and printed inside of three days (ii., 2, 287).

[3] James Zwingli brought it to Vadian, along with his letter of introduction already given above, p. 61. It is debated whether Zwingli wrote this account from his own personal knowledge or from the reports of the returned soldiers, many of whom would be parishioners of his. The account does not pretend to be at first hand, and there are expressions which seem to betray ignorance such as would not be likely in so bright a man as Zwingli if he had been in Italy at the time. On the other hand it is every way probable that he went with those of his parishioners who formed part of the papal army of that year, as he unquestionably did in 1513 and 1515, and as was indeed his duty to do as a Swiss pastor, and the errors can be explained on the ground of haste or of that curious fatality to blunder which characterises some writers, even historians.

these journeys had considerable influence upon his life. In ways quite different from the journey which Luther made to Italy they contributed to his emancipation from the allegiance to the Roman Church which characterised his early life. During his first experience as army chaplain occurred the battles of Ravenna and Pavia, in the second the victory of Novara, thirty miles west of Milan, one of the most remarkable battles of history, wherein seven thousand Swiss overcame twenty-one thousand French troops, well supplied with cavalry and artillery, while the Swiss were without either. The zeal which Zwingli displayed in the papal interest on both these campaigns was so manifest, while at the same time his independence was equally manifest, that the Pope, hearing of his performances, thought to bind the young Swiss to his service by making him papal pension agent for the canton of Glarus,[1] and further by the grant of an annual pension of fifty gulden[2] "for the purchase of books," as it was euphemistically styled. This papal pension was destined to bring Zwingli into trouble.

Zwingli's position in the papal favour may have been the reason why he was selected to head the following petition for certain favours from the Pope, if indeed he did not write the petition, and also the reason why they were secured:

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[1] J. J. Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, ii., 578.

[2] I., 354. The amount was considerable for those days. See the excursus on the papal pension, pp. 114 *sqq.*

A Petition to the Pope for a Confessor and Certain Privileges for the Priest Master Zwingli and Eleven Companions.

[1512–1513 ?]

Most Blessed Father: For the better provision for the safety of the souls of your devoted petitioners, Master Huldreich Zwingli, presbyter, [and] Heinrich Haessi, Anton Murer, Huldreich Tschudi [and] Judoc Tschudi of Glarus, Wolfgang Zymmermann, Johann Speich, Marcus Mad, Huldreich Landolt, Margareta Zilin, Rudolf Brunner, and Melchior Murer, of the laity of the Diocese of Constance, husbands and wives, and of their children of either sex, the aforesaid petitioners humbly beseech Your Holiness to grant as a mark of special favour to them that such suitable confessor of the secular or any regular order as any of them shall consider eligible, shall have power to absolve them from all ecclesiastical judgments, censures, and penalties, of excommunication, suspension, interdict, or of other nature, imposed by law or by man upon any occasion or for any cause, from transgressions as to any vows, oaths, or mandates of the Church, and as to fasts, from guilt of mental or accidental homicide, from neglect of penances imposed or of divine offices, and from all their sins, however grave, which they have repented of in their hearts and confessed with their lips, even such as ought properly to be referred to the Apostolic See, when reserved, once in life and at the moment of death, save only those contained in the Bull on the Lord's Supper [*Bulla in Cœna Domini*], when not reserved to the Apostolic See, as often as shall be necessary, and to impose penance unto salvation, also to commute to other

works of piety all vows save only those of Religion and Chastity or of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to the resting-place of Peter and Paul at the City [of Rome], and of St. James in Compostella [Santiago de Compostella is in extreme North-western Spain], and to release from all oaths without prejudice to other parties, also once in life and at the moment of death to bestow with apostolic authority remission of all their sins with plenary absolution. Moreover, that it be lawful for any presbyter or noble or graduate among the petitioners to have a portable altar, with due reverence and honour, at which even before daylight, though about dawn, to cause to be celebrated by their own or other suitable priest in presence of themselves or of any one of them, their families, and household, or themselves to celebrate, masses and other divine offices, and to attend divine service and receive the Eucharist and other sacraments of the Church, in places appropriate thereto and worthy, even though they be not consecrated and in ordinary course under the interdict of the Church, provided they have not given cause for such interdict; except, however, upon Easter or to the prejudice of the rector [of the parish]. That the bodies of those of the petitioners who pass away at the time of such interdict may be delivered to ecclesiastical burial therein without funeral pomp. Also, that by devoutly visiting upon separate days in Lent or other days of the Stations of the City in any one year one or two churches or two or three altars which any one of them shall have selected as suitable in the parts where the separate petitioners happen to be residing for the time, they may obtain as many and such indulgences as they would obtain if they visited in person annually the separate churches of the City, which because of such Stations are usually visited by the faithful of Christ. Besides, that in Lent

and on other forbidden days they may upon the advice of a physician eat and partake of eggs, meat, or butter, cheese, and other milk products, without scruple of conscience, at any time. Furthermore, that You will deign by special favour and indulgence to grant permission and authority for the women or any one of them with three or four respectable women to be entitled and empowered to enter four times a year with permission of those in charge any convents of nuns of any order, including that of St. Clara, and to eat and converse with the nuns, provided they do not stay all night, any regular enactments or ordinances promulgated by the Apostolic Chancery to the contrary notwithstanding, and that it please You on this occasion specially to invalidate these and all other opposing regulations whatsoever with the customary clauses.

As to [power to remit sins] "reserved" once in life and at the moment of death with said exceptions.[1]

As to [power to remit] those not reserved to the Apostolic See as often as shall be necessary.

As to commutation of vows, with said exceptions, and release from others.

As to remission with plenary absolution once in life and at the moment of death.

As to a portable altar, with the clause "before day" and places under interdict, as above.

That they may attend divine service and receive the sacraments and be buried at times of interdict as set forth.

As to the indulgences for the Stations of the City through visiting churches or altars as above.

As to the eating of meat, eggs, butter, and other milk products, at forbidden times as aforesaid.

As to permission to enter convents of nuns for women, as above.

[1] These and the following items evidently are notes upon the petition made by the papal notary and show point by point that the requests were granted.

With invalidation of the aforesaid regulations of the Chancery for this occasion at least.

That the present indulgence shall last and not be reckoned as recalled during the life of the separate petitioners.

That full credence be accorded these presents everywhere when signed by a notary public and provided with the seal of some dignitary of the Church thereto appointed.

That the signing of this petition is sufficient in itself without the despatching of other document.

That the provisions may be competent to the separate petitioners without mention of the others.

Granted as petitioned in presence of our Lord the Pope, L[eonard de la Rovere], Cardinal Bishop of Agen.

G. [C. ?] DE RUBEIS.

[On the back] PHI[LIPPUS ?] DE SENIS, Correct[or].[1]

When Zwingli went to Italy in 1515 he found that the agents of other princes had made the Glareans disaffected towards the Pope and ready to take service under the French. This seemed to him to be disgraceful. It was one thing to help the Pope and quite a different thing for mere money to fight against the Head of the Church. So at Monza, nine miles north-north-east of Milan, while preaching on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, Saturday, September 8th, he took occasion to rebuke those plotters against the Pope. But the French bribe was in so many cases successful that quite a serious defection was caused in the Swiss ranks, with the result that the papal troops were badly beaten in the battle of Marignano, ten miles south-

[1] Latin text, with annotations, in E. Egli's *Analecta Reformatoria*, i., 13–16. It had previously been given less accurately in *Archiv für die schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte*, iii., 600, 601.

GENERAL VIEW OF GLARUS.

east of Milan, upon September 14th and 15th, and their reputation as the Ever Victorious gone for ever.

The correspondence between Zwingli and his friends during the Glarean period is the earliest preserved and has special interest as showing the kind of company he kept in his opening years and how he was gradually developing into the Reformer. It sets him forth as very tenderly solicitous for his younger brothers, as ready to serve his friends and so as having friends ready to serve him, as the faithful teacher of several promising youths, and as a rising Humanist. He possessed a library of remarkable size, the envious admiration of his friends, devoting to its increase the papal pension he received. He was deeply interested in the literary events of the day and, like other friends of the New Learning, watched eagerly the printing-press to see what treasures it would bring forth. His friends and pupils praise him to the skies as a paragon of learning and sum of all the virtues. But this style of talk was the fashion among the Humanists and often meant only that the person addressed and his correspondent belonged to the same literary aristocracy. Zwingli took this adulation quietly and on occasion returned it. Thus he addressed the really great Erasmus in terms of the grossest flattery, a way all the latter's friends had. From this letter the fact is derived that so profoundly did he reverence Erasmus that he never went to sleep at night without reading a little in his works.

The letters exchanged between Erasmus and

Zwingli in this period, which have been preserved, are here given[1]:

The first letter is from Zwingli to Erasmus:

"To Erasmus of Rotterdam, great philosopher and theologian, Huldreich Zwingli sends greeting: When I am about to write to you, Dr. Erasmus, best of men, I am on the one hand frightened by the lustre of your learning, which demands a world larger than the one we see; and on the other hand I am invited by that well-known gentleness of yours which you manifested towards me, when in the early spring I came to Basel to see you, for it was an unusual proof of kindness that you did not despise a man who is a mere infant, an unknown smatterer. But you have granted this to the Swiss blood (which I perceive is not so greatly displeasing to you); you have granted it to Henry Glarean, whom I see you have taken into intimacy with yourself.

"You may have wondered greatly that I did not remain at home, since [when I got to Basel] I did not even seek the solution of some most difficult questions (as your own vain talkers are wont to do from you). But when you discover by reflection that what I looked for in you was that far-famed efficiency of yours, you will cease to wonder. For, by Hercules, I admire boldly and even shamelessly this which you have in perfection, together with a friendliness of manner and pleasantness of life. So that when I read your writings I seem to hear you speaking and to see you, with that finely proportioned little body of yours, gesticulating with elegance. For without boasting you are so much beloved by me that I cannot sleep without first holding converse with you.

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[1] VII., 10, 12. The order is reversed for the reasons given on p. 81.

"But why am I wearying your most learned ears with these uncouth sounds? For I am not ignorant that jackdaws should eat from the ground. Well, that you may know how far it was from being the fact that I was sorry for the journey that I made to see you (as did those Spaniards and Frenchmen, who, as the divine Jerome says, once went to Rome to see Livy), I think that I have made a great name for myself and make my boast in nothing else than this, that I have seen Erasmus — the man who has deserved most highly of letters and the secret things of Sacred Scripture, and who so burns with love to God and men that he thinks that whatever is done for the cause of good letters is done for himself. All good men ought to pray that God will preserve him in safety to the end that sacred literature freed by him from barbarism and sophistry may increase to a more perfect age and that the tender shoots bereaved of their great father may not be left without protection and care.

"But now, to bring this tragedy to a close, I in return for all those kindnesses which you have shown me have given you what Æschines gave to Socrates,— though not an equal value,— myself.[1] But you do not receive this gift which is not worthy of you! I will add, more than the Corinthians did when scorned by Alexander — that I not only will give it to no other but never have done so. If you do not accept it even thus, it will be sufficient to have been repelled by you. For nothing will more contribute to the correction of one's life than to have

[1] Allusion to the speech of the Athenian philosopher of that name, son of a sausage seller, of whom Socrates is said to have remarked that the sausage seller's son alone knew how to honour him. Zwingli doubtless derived his allusion from Seneca, *De beneficiis*, I., viii. In 1522 Zwingli invited Erasmus to settle in Zurich. See Erasmus's reply, vii., 221.

displeased such men. So whether you are willing or unwilling, you will, I hope, restore me in improved condition to myself. Finally, when you have used your possession in whatsoever manner is pleasing to you, farewell.

"GLARUS, April 29, 1515."

The reply of Erasmus was this :

"Erasmus of Rotterdam to Huldreich Zwingli at Glarus, a philosopher and theologian most learned, a friend beloved as a brother: Greeting.

"The fact that you are so well disposed towards me has been a very great delight to me, as is your letter, equally sprightly and learned. If I respond in short measure to this last, you must not lay it up against me. For by these labours, which seem to me as though they would never be finished, I am often compelled to be less kind than I would be to those to whom I least wish to be so; but to myself I am by far the most unkind, draining the resources of my intellect which not even a quintessence may restore. That the results of my lucubrations are approved by you, so approved a man, greatly rejoices me, and they are on this account less displeasing to me.

"I congratulate the Swiss, whose genius I particularly admire, upon the fact that you and men like you will embellish and ennoble them by your most excellent pursuits and customs, with Glareanus as leader and standard-bearer, who is not less pleasing to me on account of his marked and varied erudition than on account of his singular purity and integrity of life — a man, too, entirely devoted to yourself.

"It is my intention to revisit Brabant immediately after the Feast of Pentecost; at least so things are tending.

But I do not willingly tear myself away from these regions.

"Be careful, my Huldreich, to use the pen now and then, which is the best master of speech. I see that Minerva is favourable if the training is maintained. I have written this at dinner, at the request of Glareanus,[1] to whom I can deny nothing, no, not even if he should tell me to dance stark naked! Farewell. From Basel."

Allusions in letters and in later years in discourses fix in this Glarean period several important events. First, Zwingli's study of Greek. The first intimation that he was thinking of beginning this study is in 1510[2]; but he does not seem to have made

[1] Henry Loriti was a native of Glarus, hence his pen-name. This undated letter is put in the spring of the year 1514 in the Schuler and Schulthess edition of the Zwingli correspondence (vii., 10), on the ground that after Pentecost Erasmus made a visit to Brabant. The fact that Erasmus commonly did not date his letters has made the exact chronology of his life the despair of his biographers. See Emerton's *Erasmus* in this series, *passim*. Staehelin (i., 80) puts it in May, 1515, on these grounds: (1) that the way Zwingli begins his letter of April 29, 1515, is not consonant with the reception of so friendly an epistle; hence that letter must have been written before the Erasmus letter. (2) Zwingli's letter does not imply any epistolary contact between them. (3) As Glareanus did not come to Basel till the spring of 1514, he would hardly in that year have cemented so firm a friendship as Erasmus testifies to. As friendship depends upon common tastes, and where these exist is a plant of very rapid growth, this third ground does not seem very strong. Erasmus and Glareanus had much in common. It is noteworthy that both Erasmus and Glareanus were too much dissatisfied later on with the course of the Reformation to follow Luther and Zwingli into the restored Christian Church.

[2] Glarean writes to him in that year: "The *Introduction* [to Greek], with its author, you will learn about rather at Basel than at Cologne (vii., 2)."

a real start till 1513, when, writing to Vadian on February 23,[1] he says: "I am applying my ignorant self to the study of Greek and Latin. I do not know who has stirred me up to the study of Greek unless it is God; I do not do it on account of glory, for which I do not look, but solely for the sake of Sacred Literature." In 1523, in his exposition of the Articles of the first disputation of that year, he says: "Ten years ago I began the study of Greek in order that I might learn the teaching of Christ from the original sources."[2] His progress seems to have been reasonably rapid, especially in view of the fact that he had apparently no teacher.[3] However, a little knowledge of Greek

[1] VII., 9.

[2] I., 254. Greek study in Western Europe was then in its infancy. Teachers were scarce and text-books were scarcer still. The only Greek grammar in use in the West was that by Emanuel Chrysoloras (b. at Constantinople 1355; d. at Constance 1415), which was known as the *Erotemata*, the Greek title meaning "the interrogatives," and was first printed in Venice in 1484, and frequently afterwards in different places. Zwingli calls it the "Introduction" (*Isagogen*) of Chrysoloras; and as Glareanus (vii. 2) speaks of an "Isagogen" which he had undertaken to translate, but had to lay aside from ill health, it is likely that he refers to the same book. Zwingli asked Vadianus what he (Zwingli) should take up after he had finished it (vii., 9). Glarean, writing from Basel on October 24, 1516, says: "I do not know whether you have a Greek dictionary or not. If you need one write to me and I will see that it is sent you at once" (vii., 18). The lexicon Zwingli used was that of Suidas (Milan, 1499), and on the first page of his copy he wrote in Greek: "*Εἰμὶ τοῦ Ζυγγλίου καὶ τὸν κυριον μηδαμῶς καταλλάξω εἰ μὴ θατέρου ἀποθανόντος.*" *Cf.* Usteri, *Initia Zwinglii* ("Studien u. Kritiken," 1885, 621). The book was in the Zwingli exhibition at Zurich, Jan. 4–13, 1884. See catalogue of the same, p. 9.

[3] At least Myconius, writing to him on October 28, 1518, says: "I

made one in those days a paragon of learning, while if one joined to it a smattering of Hebrew such an accumulation was almost superhuman, and, indeed, it was sometimes hinted, betrayed Satanic influence!

Second, his emancipation under the influence of his growing knowledge from the traditional theology. He was able to make the most of his advantages. Thus, in his preface to his commentary on Isaiah,[1] he writes:

"The Lord has granted that from boyhood I should come by reading to a knowledge of things divine and human. . . . In this round of studies I have worked so joyously and heartily that I have profited whoever the master may have been, yet never was so wedded to any that I was not willing to receive the teachings of others if they produced anything weightier or clearer than my master for the time being."

His earliest teachers in systematic divinity were the Basel scholastics. He thus describes his emancipation:

"In my younger days I was as much devoted to worldly knowledge as any of my age, and when seven or eight years ago I gave myself up to the study of the Bible I was completely under the power of the jarring philosophy and theology. But led by the Scriptures and the Word of God I was forced to the conclusion: you must leave them all alone and learn the meaning of the Word

ask you to show me your plan for studying [Greek] without a teacher" (vii., 51, 52). And in his life of Zwingli he states that he (Zwingli) learned Greek from "lexicons and translations" (p. 5).

[1] V., 547 *sq.*

out of the Word itself. So I asked God to give me His light and then the Scriptures began to be much more intelligible when I read them themselves alone than when I read much commentary and exposition of them. Do you not see that was a sign that God was leading me? For I never could have come to such a conclusion by my own small understanding." [1]

Two men had a large part in this emancipation. One was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who was born in Mirandola in 1463, and died in Florence in 1494. He had in the winter of 1486–'87 proposed to maintain against all comers nine hundred theses of a miscellaneous character, though predominantly religious and theological, but the Pope (Innocent VIII.) prohibited the discussion, and thirteen of the theses were selected for condemnation.[2] This brought him into disfavour till in

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[1] I., 79. *Cf.* Myconius, p. 5.

[2] The thirteen obnoxious theses were as follows, as given by J. M. Rigg in his preface to his translation of Sir Thomas More's *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (London, 1890), pp. viii, ix:

1. That Christ did not truly and in real presence, but only *quoad effectum* [in effect], descend into hell.

2. That a mortal sin of finite duration is not deserving of eternal, but only of temporal punishment.

3. That neither the cross of Christ, nor any image, ought to be adored in the way of worship.

4. That God cannot assume a nature of any kind whatsoever, but only a rational nature.

5. That no science affords a better assurance of the divinity of Christ than magical and cabalistic science.

6. That assuming the truth of the ordinary doctrine that God can take upon himself the nature of any creature whatsoever, it is possible for the body of Christ to be present on the altar without the

1493 Innocent's successor, Alexander VI., acquitted him. Zwingli had, while a teacher in Basel, approved of at least some of these theses, although which ones is unknown, and had been called in consequence in certain quarters a heretic,[1] and was in 1510 still interested in Pico.[2] Resemblances have been traced between Pico and Zwingli on such points as the Eucharist, providence, and predestination.[3]

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conversion of the substance of the bread or the annihilation of "paneity" [the state of being bread].

7. That it is more rational to believe that Origen is saved than that he is damned.

8. That as no one's opinions are just such as he wills them to be, so no one's beliefs are just such as he wills them to be.

9. That the inseparability of substance and accident may be maintained consistently with the doctrine of transubstantiation.

10. That the words "hoc est corpus meus" ["this is my body"] pronounced during the consecration of the bread are to be taken "materialiter" (*i. e.*, as a mere recital) and not "significative" (*i. e.*, as denoting an actual fact).

11. That the miracles of Christ are a most certain proof of his divinity, by reason not of the works themselves, but of his manner of doing them.

12. That it is more improper to say of God that he is intelligence, or intellect, than of an angel that it is a rational soul.

13. That the soul knows nothing in act and distinctly but itself.

[1] *Cf.* Myconius, pp. 5, 6; Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, i., 7.

[2] In that year, Glareanus, writing to Zwingli, alludes manifestly to some remark of the latter upon Pico (vii., 2). Several of Pico's books are now in the collection of Zwingli's books in Zurich. See catalogue of the Zwingli exhibition of 1884, p. 9.

[3] C. Sigwart (*Ulrich Zwingli: der Character seiner Theologie mit besonderer Rucksicht auf Picus von Mirandula*, Stuttgart, 1855) made this comparison, but later modified his views. In regard to the Eucharist, Melanchthon states explicitly that Zwingli confessed to him that Erasmus first suggested his theory (*Corpus Reformatorum*, iv., 970).

But Zwingli's chief emancipator was Erasmus.[1] In 1523, he thus declares his indebtedness to him:

"I will not, dearest brethren in Christ Jesus, withhold from you how I came to the opinion and firm belief that we require no other mediator than Christ; also that between God and us no one can mediate except Christ alone. Eight or nine years ago I read a consolatory poem on the Lord Jesus,[2] written by the profoundly learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, in which with many very beautiful words Jesus complains that men did not seek all good in Him, so that He might be to them a fountain of all good, a Saviour, comfort and treasure of the soul. So I reflected, Well, if it is really so, why then should we seek help of any creature? And although I found other hymns or songs by the same Erasmus on St. Anna, St. Michael, and others, in which he calls upon the saints of whom he wrote as intercessors, still this fact could not deprive me of the knowledge that Christ was the only treasure of our poor souls; but I began to examine the biblical and patristic writings

[1] The position of Erasmus among the young Humanists of the early part of the sixteenth century had many points of similarity to that of Matthew Arnold's among the college men of the United States thirty and perhaps twenty years ago. Like Arnold he was read by the whole set and sworn to with all a young man's ardour. His scepticism, his cynicism, his wit, his learning, his versatility were appreciated, but by no means implicitly approved by those who read him. There was a fascination about him even to those who knew how defective his character was. Those who came ultimately to quite different conclusions were grateful to Erasmus for having exposed the hollowness of monkery and the falsity of the mediæval claim of finality for the scholastic method.

[2] "Expostulatio Jesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte," *Erasmi Opera omnia*, Leiden ed., v., cols. 1319, 1320.

to find out if I could learn from them concerning the intercession of saints. To be brief, I have not found it at all in the Bible; in some of the Fathers I have found it, in others not." [1]

It was Erasmus after all who set him against the scholastic theology and in favour of the Bible, taught him to value the classics and to take sensible views in general. He therefore turned to the Scriptures and so diligently studied them that his knowledge would have been considered remarkable in any age. His writings abound with apt quotations from all parts of the Bible and of such a character that they show a mind saturated with it.

It was during this Glarean period that he made two discoveries which were destined to have a decided effect upon all his thinking. The first related to the cardinal doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He thus tells the story:

"It was while pastor at Glarus that I came across at Mollis [four miles north of Glarus] an Obsequial, *i. e.*, a book for baptismal, burial, and benediction services, which although old was in respect to the writing complete, and unaltered; and therein stood a Latin rubric, that immediately after the infant had been baptised, 'then shall to the child be administered the sacrament of the Eucharist, including the chalice containing the blood.' . . . How long this practice was observed in the canton of Glarus I have not been able to find out, but surely it is not two hundred years since

[1] I., 298.

that in Mollis the Lord's Supper was administered in both kinds." [1]

The second was made while campaigning in Italy, viz.: that the mass-books did not agree exactly; especially he noted the variations of the Ambrosian liturgy, as he found it in an old service-book in the neighbourhood of Milan. He collected such books and compared them. The variations were slight, but sufficient to disprove the claim of the Church of Rome that her liturgy was the same in all times without variation.[2]

His life in Glarus must have been a busy one. His parish was large, and yet he increased his labours by teaching the classics. He was a hard student himself and incited an enthusiasm for learning in his pupils. In regard to the duties of his office he says: "Young as I was, the priestly office filled me with more fear than joy. Because I knew and still know that the blood of the sheep who perish through my unfaithfulness will be required at my hands, so have I ever used my office to promote peace." [3] Being convinced that the preacher needed every help available, he read widely in the classics, studied eloquence,[4] and for purposes of

[1] I., 246. [2] III., 87 *sq.*, 92. For Luther's similar discovery in Milan, see Köstlin, i. 106.

[3] I., 353. This was said in 1523 in allusion to the Glarean period.

[4] It is conjectured that Zwingli studied the treatise by the Basel preacher, Johannes Ulricus Surgant, entitled *Manuale curatorum predicandi prebens modum: tam latino atque vulgari sermone practice illuminatum: cum certis aliis ad curam animatorum pertinentibus: omnibus curatis tam conducibilis atque salubris*, the first edition of which had appeared at Basel in 1503, and which took high rank

THE CHURCH AT GLARUS WHEREIN ZWINGLI PREACHED, 1506-1516.

pulpit illustration,[1] memorised Valerius Maximus, the Latin author who has so industriously collected anecdotes. Unfortunately no specimen or description of his preaching during this period has been preserved, except the very vague remark of his friend and earliest biographer that he "preached gospel grace without alluding at all, or, if so, very cautiously, to the abuses of the Church of Rome,"[2] and the equally vague remarks of one who had heard him only once, but whose object in writing is to contrast him with his successor, of whom he gives a very bad account.[3] But that he had won considerable reputation as a preacher is evinced by his being subsequently engaged to preach at Einsiedeln, the most famous place of pilgrimage in German-speaking lands, and especially at the feast of the "Angel Dedication," when it was particularly complimentary to be asked, as only renowned preachers were invited.[4]

Part of his growing reputation was due to his

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as a manual on homiletics. It was indeed the kind of book Zwingli would use, but there is no proof that he did, as it is nowhere mentioned by him or in any letter of his correspondents. See E. Christen, *Zwingli avant la réforme de Zurich* (Geneva, 1899), p. 38.

[1] The monks were in the habit of enlivening their sermons with more or less moral tales. And so in this respect Zwingli followed the fashion of his age. Even when addressing the unlearned, he interlarded his discourses with classical references and allusions. But the rich biblical setting he gave them showed that he was no mere pedant.

[2] Myconius, p. 6, who had just spoken of his studies and pulpit preparations, p. 5.

[3] VII., 165 *sqq*.

[4] See next chapter.

stand in respect to the mercenary traffic, that curse and shame of his country, which he early determined "utterly to root out."[1] At first he had made an exception, as has been already remarked, of the papal service, but he soon came to see that papal gold was just as corrupting as secular, and further that the Pope as a warrior was not a whit different from other princes, indeed, was as faithless as anyone else. So he condemned the traffic *in toto.* It had originated in consequence of the great fame the Swiss had made as soldiers when fighting for their country against Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, especially by the victories of Granson and of Morat in 1476. It was then customary to hire troops wherever they could be gotten, so the reputation of the Swiss made them eagerly sought after. This meant that foreign princes bid against each other for the opportunity of hiring them and were willing to pay leading Swiss to act as agents in this business. Such agents were called pensionaries. Thus prominent families were interested in the traffic, and Zwingli's opposition brought him the ill-will of these persons. But his opposition was made on moral grounds; the degeneracy caused by contact with foreign lands, and the deterioration in character involved in fighting merely for money excited his rage and disgust, and having been with the mercenaries he could speak from personal knowledge. Then, too, Glarus was during the sitting of the Diet a centre of this disgraceful business. "Every day we receive," he testifies, "messengers from the

[1] Myconius, p. 5.

Pope or the Emperor, the Milanese, the Venetians, the Savoyards, and the French, and send others to them." [1] It will be readily understood that his perpetual preaching against the pecuniary interests of leading and influential Glareans excited counter demonstrations. Men always resent what affects their pockets, and so when these leaders and the many persons of lower rank who were more or less dependent on the traffic had heard the young priest hold them up time and time again as "un-Swiss," as dealers in the souls of men, and in other uncomplimentary terms, they determined to get rid of him. The rank and file of his congregation were devoted to him, and no act of theirs would have severed their relation, but the machinations of the pensionaries and their beneficiaries made his life a burden, and so in the spring of 1516 he announced his intention to remove to Einsiedeln.[2]

Excursus on the Zwingli Correspondence in General, and on that of the Glarean Period in Particular.

Most of the letters printed in the two volumes in the Schuler and Schulthess edition (vii. and viii.) devoted to the Zwingli correspondence are addressed to him, many of his letters having perished. As he had no amanuensis, at least not prior to 1524 (vii., 328), he must have written his letters with his own hand, which, as he had an extensive correspondence, was, as Myconius tells us, a laborious task

[1] See his letter to Vadian, February 23, 1513 (vii., 9).

[2] See his letter from Einsiedeln, June 13, 1517 (vii., 24). *Cf.* a letter to him from a friend in Glarus (vii., 161 *sqq.*), alluded to above, written on January 23, 1521, which states that it was Zwingli's criticism of the pensionaries which compelled his departure, and in closing alludes to the sorrow the news of his brother's death had caused in Glarus.

p. 8). Apparently he kept no copy of his letters, but he sometimes made a translation into Latin of those he wrote or received in German. So many letters in the volumes given are in two languages. Staehelin published in 1887 five new letters from Zwingli, and more may be forthcoming. A. L. Herminyard has incorporated in his monumental *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de langue Française* (vols. i. and ii., 2d ed., Paris, 1878) three letters of Zwingli and seventeen to him, but they include none hitherto unknown, and one, No. 82, is only a French translation of the closing part of Zwingli's dedicatory letter addressed to Francis I. in sending that King his "Commentary on True and False Religion." But Herminyard's careful annotations are very welcome.

Of the thirteen letters from the Glarean period, and there are none earlier, only three are Zwingli's. The interest which attaches to the youth of distinguished men makes it proper here to analyse these thirteen letters in order that the associations and occupations of young Zwingli may be discovered as far as may be.

I. From Glarean, Cologne, July 13, 1510 (vii., 1, 2). It relates to personal and literary matters, and incidentally shows how eagerly the products of that still new invention, the printing-press, were awaited by scholars.

II. From Vadian, Vienna, April 9, 1511 (vii., 3). It relates to a common friend of great promise, Argobast Strub of Glarus, whose memorial volume Vadian transmits.

III. From Glarean, Cologne, April 18, 1511 (vii., 4, 5). It acknowledges receipt of Zwingli's translation into Latin of the verses on "The Ox and the other Beasts," and criticises it rather severely, though gently as became their friendship. See p. 71, n.

IV. From Glarean, Cologne, 1511 (vii., 5). It shows that Zwingli was helping him secure a place in Basel, whence he had just returned, and in connection with

V. From Johann Heinrich Wentz, Basel, 1511 (vii., 6), relates to a mysterious episode in Zwingli's early life. It appears that Zwingli probably while teaching in Basel had received a benefice in St. Peter's church, but he had so much neglected its probably purely formal duties, whatever they were, that the papal Nuncio (Pucci) had drawn up the notice of excommunication, but at the earnest solicitation of Wentz, who was rector of the Basler University when Zwingli matriculated and who had a great affection for him, the Nuncio had held it back for a while. Wentz implores Zwingli to treat the matter seriously

and do what was necessary to avoid the disgrace of being excommunicated. Nothing more is known of the affair. Wentz died January 25, 1518. See vii., 33. Staehelin thinks (i., 54) that iv. and v. should change places. There probably is in Pucci's letter of Sept. 1, 1518, offering Zwingli a papal acolyte chaplaincy (see next chapter), allusion to this with other ecclesiastical disabilities still existing from which he desired to absolve Zwingli, when he writes: "In case you are involved in any way in any ecclesiastical judgments, censures, or penalties of excommunication, suspension, interdict, or of other nature, imposed by law or by man upon any occasion or for any cause, we absolve you."

VI. From Zwingli to Vadian, Glarus, October 4, 1512 (vii., 7). Already given in full, pp. 61, 62.

VII. From James Zwingli, Vienna, February 20, 1513 (vii., 7, 8). Already given in full, pp. 62, 63.

VIII. From Zwingli to Vadian, Glarus, February 23, 1513 (vii., 8, 9). Already quoted, p. 82.

IX. From Johann Dingnauer, Kilchberg, on the Lake of Zurich, December 6, 1514 (vii., 9, 10). It gives him an invitation to come and see him and incidentally alludes to Erasmus's high opinion of Zwingli. Zwingli recommended Dingnauer to Winterthur, sixteen miles north-east of Zurich, as pastor (vii., 30).

X. From Erasmus, Basel, 1514, more likely 1515 (vii., 10). Already given in full, pp. 80, 81.

XI. From Peter Falk, January 23, 1515 (vii., 11, 12). Falk was a prominent citizen of Freiburg in Switzerland, twenty miles southwest from Bern. He offered Zwingli the free use for two years of a house in Pavia, Italy, and of a farm at Casale, thirty-five miles west of Pavia, with the services of a farmer to look after it!

XII. From Zwingli to Erasmus, Glarus, April 29, 1515 (vii., 12, 13). Already given in full, pp. 78–80.

XIII. From Valentine Tschudi, Basel, July 31, 1515 (vii., 13, 14). Tschudi was one of Zwingli's pupils at Glarus, and his successor there in 1522 (see p. 120). He expresses his gratitude and speaks of his present studies under Glarean. He died in 1555. See Schuler. *Zwingli's Bildungsgeschichte*, pp. 319, 320.

CHAPTER III

AT EINSIEDELN

1516–1518

ZWINGLI in writing to Vadianus from Einsiedeln on June 13, 1517, thus explains his leaving Glarus:

"I have changed my residence, not at the stimulus of desire or of avarice, but because of the wiles of the French; and now I am at Einsiedeln. . . . What disaster that French faction has at last wrought me the wind of rumour has doubtless wafted to you. In the things done I too have had a part, but I have borne or have learned to bear many misfortunes." [1]

It was on Monday, April 14, 1516, that Theobold, or as he was also called, Diebold, von Hohengeroldseck, administrator of the monastery at Einsiedeln, met Zwingli in the castle at Pfaeffikon, on the southern shore of the Lake of Zurich, twenty miles from that city, but only about five miles north of Einsiedeln, to discuss his going to Einsiedeln as people's priest. The interview being mutually satisfactory, the papers were witnessed by his uncle, Johann Meili, abbot of Fischingen, and his former teacher, Gregory Buenzli, pastor at Wesen, and

[1] VII., 24.

sealed by the administrator and by Zwingli. He was promised a salary of twenty florin a year, payable quarterly, and also an income from gifts, masses, and confessional fees of the abbey church.[1]

[1] See the contract in Hottinger, *Hist. eccl.*, viii., 24–26; better and with explanatory notes in Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, i., 16–19, which translated reads thus:

Contract of Zwingli with the Administrator of the Convent of Einsiedeln.

"In the name of the Lord, Amen. Whereas the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Domine Theobold von Hohengeroldseck, Administrator of the monastery of Einsiedeln, upon whom devolves the care of the pastoral office, which is greatest of all, cannot by himself attend to so many things, and lest the blood of those under him be required at his hands, also because these hands are kept busy with greater duties, he has provided for himself one to whom he can without anxiety assign a part of his burdens, appointing as his substitute in the curacy the worshipful gentleman, Domine Huldreich Zwingli, Master of Arts. Inclined thereto by the petition and the character of the aforesaid worshipful gentleman, he willingly designates him vicar or people's priest of the aforesaid monastery of Einsiedeln, observing the customary stipulations and articles of agreement, not because any lack of confidence exists on either side, but for the greater security, in view of the instability of man.

"In accordance therewith it has been duly covenanted in the presence of the honourable gentlemen named below and at the place and time indicated:

"First, that he shall obey the Lord Abbot or his Administrator in all things lawful and right; shall watch over the advancement and interest of the monastery, and guard it from loss and injury in every way in his power, and shall preside over those placed under his pastoral care as becomes a good and upright pastor, and minister unto them with all diligence.

"Secondly, it has been covenanted that the aforesaid Master Huldreich with his assistant[1] shall dine at the regular table in the refectory of the monastery, while the Lord Administrator shall receive

[1] Zwingli's assistant was Master Lukas. See vii., 29, 167, 184, 226.

He did not, however, take up his residence at Einsiedeln until October of that year, 1516,[1] and he remained pastor of Glarus till he went to Zurich. He so signs himself on October 30, 1517, when writing to the chief magistrate of Winterthur[2]; his name so appears upon the official records, and he drew the parish income and out of it paid his "vicar" or substitute. His people were anxious to retain him and promised to rebuild his house if

the tithes, the revenues from the Martyrologium,[1] and a part of the confession money, leaving to Master Huldreich the offerings and burial fees, and he, the Lord Administrator, to wit, shall give the same twenty florins a year, sixteen batzen to the florin, payable quarterly.

"Thirdly, the Lord Administrator promises that when any benefice which belongs to his jurisdiction becomes vacant, he will make provision for the aforesaid Master Huldreich from the same, provided that he shall first relinquish the right to his own benefice at Glarus.

"Given in presence of the following witnesses, to wit:

"The Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Domine John, Abbot of Fischingen; the worshipful gentleman, Domine Master Gregory [Buenzli], people's priest at Wesen; the worshipful Domine Master Melchior Stoker, people's priest at Freienbach [on Lake Zurich, sixteen miles south-west of the city]; and the worshipful Domine Master Zinck of Castle Pfeffingen [Pfaeffikon].

"In witness whereof the Seal of the Convent of the aforesaid Monastery has been affixed, and the Lord Administrator and Master Huldreich have affixed their seals this fourteenth day of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen."

[1] This comes out in his correspondence, which incidentally shows that he was in Glarus most of August and September (*cf.* vii., 15, 17). But Glareanus, writing from Basel in October, 1516 (vii., 18), implies that Zwingli was already removed to Einsiedeln.

[2] VII., 30.

[1] In the back of this book the names of benefactors of the monastery were inscribed.

he would stay. They were proud of his reputation for scholarship, of his large library, of his musical skill, of the friends he had made, and of his devoted pupils, and of his rise from obscurity to prominence among the Swiss. They knew what an excellent preacher he was, how faithful a pastor, how firm a friend, how enthusiastic a patriot, how generous, how jovial, how self-sacrificing, in short, what a fine man he was. But his enemies, though far less numerous than his friends, were equally determined and compelled his departure.

The feeling of dismay with which his pupils heard that he had left Glarus is expressed by one of them who wrote: "What could possibly have happened more saddening for our Glarus than to be bereft of so great a man!"[1] He, on his side, returned love for love. Writing to a friend in October, 1522, he thus speaks of his pleasant relations with Glarus:

"I lived in such a peaceful and friendly manner with my lords in Glarus that we never had the smallest difficulty, and went away in such favour that they allowed me for two years to receive the income of the living, in the hope that I would come back; and indeed I should if I had not been called to Zurich; and moreover on my resignation they made me a present of twenty gulden towards recouping me for the cost of the lawsuit. For the living cost me much more than one hundred gulden."[2]

To this congregation he dedicated his first consider-

[1] VII., 17.

[2] The letter is given in German and Latin, but in both forms is unfinished. See vii., 237, and page 68 of this volume.

able writing in behalf of the Reformation, "The Exposition of the Articles," Zurich, 1523, in this fashion: "To the honourable, prudent, wise Chief Magistrate, Council, and Congregation of the Canton Glarus, from of old time Christians and Confederates."[1] He further says, "I have dedicated this treatise to you, once my dear flock, now gracious lords and dear brethren in Christ, in order that I might attest my gratitude for the trust and honour you have shown me,"[2] and signs himself, "Ever your obedient servant."[3]

But the change which he made, however it was caused, and however he and others regarded it, was one of the providential preparations for the part he was destined to play in history.

Einsiedeln lies on a plain which extends southwards from near the Lake of Zurich. It is distant only twenty miles from Zurich,[4] in a south-easterly direction, but much off the beaten track of travel, requiring a special journey. It was in two other respects a great contrast to Glarus. It was a small place and it lacked the striking mountain scenery surrounding Glarus. But it was then as to-day the most famous place of pilgrimage in Switzerland and all Southern Germany, in consequence of the divinely dedicated shrine of the Virgin Mary, where miracles were and are believed to be wrought. Plenary indulgence also rewards the worshippers there. Over the entrance of the

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[1] I., 170.
[2] I., 172.
[3] I., 174.
[4] Zwingli calls it a six hours' journey (vii., 59).

monastery appeared the legend: "Here is full remission of all sins both from the guilt and punishment." The pilgrims came in large numbers and, as they were of all grades, there was a fine opportunity for a man of Zwingli's temperament and disposition to make wide and desirable acquaintance. This was precisely what happened. And so his fame spread as it might not otherwise have done.

The story of Einsiedeln[1] is worth repeating. The name comes from "*einsiedler*," a hermit; hence the Latin name for the place is "*Emitarum Cœnobium*." Meinrad was the hermit from whom it derived its origin. He was a native of Rottenburg, twenty-five miles south-west of Stuttgart, but was educated in the famous Benedictine abbey school on the island of Reichenau in the Untersee, three and one half miles north-west of Constance, and after a brief experience as a secular priest became a monk in that monastery. At some later date he was sent to teach at the abbey's branch school at Oberbollingen, on the Lake of Zurich, near its eastern end and twenty miles from Zurich. Across the lake were mountains and dense forests, and as he day by day gazed towards them he was seized with the desire to bury himself in those solitudes and so cut himself off from contact with men. Accordingly he crossed the lake in the year 829 and made his way to the pass of the Etzel, a small mountain a couple of miles south of the Lake of Zurich and some

[1] The information here given about Einsiedeln comes mainly from the scholarly book of Odilo Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte unserer lieben Frau von Einsiedeln*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896.

twenty miles south-east of Zurich, and lived on the spot for some seven years. He had the same experience which distressed many other hermits — his solitude was invaded — so he removed to another spot in the "Gloomy Forest," as the forest was called, to the plain where Einsiedeln is built, about four miles south of his first abode. There beside a spring he put up his hut and a little place for prayer. On Tuesday, January 21, 861, he was visited by two men who, probably under the misapprehension that he had hidden treasure, murdered him. Forty years later there were a number of hermits living where the martyr had fallen. Thirty years more and the huts had been abandoned for a regular conventual building. In 948 the chapel of Meinrad was enclosed in a church. Conrad, Bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Einsiedeln was till the beginning of this century, came down to dedicate this enclosing church to the Virgin Mary and the holy martyr Mauritius, and at the same time St. Meinrad's chapel to the Virgin Mary. But at midnight preceding the day set for the dedication, (Thursday, Sept. 14, 948) while the Bishop and some of the monks were praying in the church, they heard angelic voices singing in the chapel the dedicatory service. Consequently he refused the next day to undertake the duty for which he had come, as far as the chapel was concerned, declaring that it had already been consecrated and in a sublime manner. But, over-persuaded, he proceeded to read the service. Scarcely had he begun, when a voice was heard by all, saying, "Stop, brother,

God has already dedicated the chapel." The speaker was the Angel of the Covenant, the Lord Jesus Christ, so the dedication is known as the Angelic Dedication; in German "*Engelweihe*," meaning by "angel" the Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

The fact of the Angelic Dedication is attested in the alleged Bull of Leo VIII., which is dated Nov. 11, 964, or only eighteen years after the alleged event; but unfortunately there is some doubt about the Bull's genuineness.[2] The Bull, whether genuine or not, promises plenary indulgence to those who visit the chapel, and so has played an important part in attracting visitors.

The legend respecting the Angelic Dedication can be traced in writing to the first half of the fourteenth century.[3] According to this writing God the Son came down from heaven attended by the Virgin Mary, angels, and saints, and the angels and saints took part in the dedicatory services. Pilgrimages to the chapel date surely from the middle of the tenth century. The number of pilgrims fell off in the opening years of the Reformation but rose again. It is claimed that now one hundred and fifty thousand visit the shrine annually, mostly from Switzerland and South Germany. The chapel in consequence of its supposed miraculous dedication was considered particularly sacred to the Virgin Mary.[4] Over it, so as to enclose it, was

[1] So Ringholz derives the term, pp. 311, 312.

[2] Ringholz, p. 312.

[3] Ringholz, p. 350.

[4] "More gracious than elsewhere is here the help of the Godhead; And more on her altars the presence of Mary works wonders."
Glarean, *Descriptio de situ Helvetiæ.*

built a church, and around the church other ecclesiastical buildings. Into its famous monastery down to the Reformation only the higher nobility found entrance, as the dean, Albrecht von Bonstetten, writes in 1494: "This church and monastery should be a place of refuge to princes, counts, barons, and heads of societies, according to the documents and immemorial usage."[1] It is not to be wondered at that the members of a monastery thus recruited showed small interest in spiritual affairs. Fewer and fewer would assume the responsibility of membership in the chapter. So at the beginning of the sixteenth century only two such members are met with, the princely abbot Conrad III. of Hohenrechberg and the administrator, Diebold von Geroldseck. It was to the latter that Zwingli applied for the position of minister at Einsiedeln.[2]

The chapel of Meinrad has always been of course the central point of the pilgrim's attention. This chapel, when Zwingli saw it, was not in the shape in which it was when the alleged Angelic Dedication

[1] Ringholz, p. 19.

[2] It is every way likely that Zwingli directly or indirectly applied to Diebold, as Ringholz asserts (p. 19). The two were acquainted, and Zwingli had already made a sufficient reputation as a preacher to be welcomed there. In 1527 Diebold left Einsiedeln, having come over to the Reformation. He lived henceforth in Zurich, and went forth with Zwingli to the fatal field of Cappel, and there died at his side.

Abbot Conrad staid, however, in the Roman Catholic Church, but resigned his office in 1526 on account of old age. Though the Reformation did not entirely disrupt the monastery, it was a staggering blow, from which, however, it recovered, and Einsiedeln is today a purely Roman Catholic centre.

took place, for that chapel had been accidentally burnt in 1465, and a new one built the next year, using the old walls which had survived the fire. In 1617 it was covered with marble and otherwise decorated. In 1798 the French destroyed it and scattered its materials through the village, but they were regathered, and the present graceful structure erected on the site of the former chapel. Over the old altar of the chapel from time immemorial there has stood a figure of the Virgin and Child. It is now, and has long been, covered with gorgeous vestments. When these are removed it is revealed that the figure is of wood; the Virgin wears a simple single garment extending to the feet and bound around the waist with a narrow girdle; while the child is entirely nude. The child is carried on the left arm and hand. His right hand is raised in blessing; his left presses gently to his bosom a little bird which lightly pecks his finger—a representation of the miracle of making the sparrows out of clay told of the infant Jesus in the Apocryphal gospels.[1] The face and hands of the Virgin and the entire body of the child are now painted black, but originally they were flesh-coloured. It is not known when or where the figure originated. It is first mentioned in the year 1315.[2]

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[1] Pseudo-Matthew, chap. xxvii.; Gospel of Thomas, first Greek form, 2; second Greek form, 3; Latin form, chap. iv.; Infancy of the Saviour, 36.

[2] Ringholz, p. 35. Ringholz does not seem to be willing to repeat the old stories of its miraculous origin, but he has full faith in its wonder-working qualities. One sees in the church to-day crutches

The Angelic Dedication of the chapel said to have taken place in the year 948 was originally commemorated every year ; but from the middle of the fifteenth century only every seven years by a fourteen days' festival; from the beginning of the sixteenth century only when the 14th of September fell on Sunday, and fourteen days thereafter. This is the present custom. Such is called the major celebration. But every year on September 14th there is a celebration lasting a single day, whatever may be the day of the week. The year Zwingli went to Einsiedeln, viz., 1516, the 14th of September fell on Sunday, and so there was that year the major celebration, and he went to Einsiedeln to celebrate it. Such a celebration did not occur during 1517 or 1518. On each of the two or sometimes on the three Sundays of the great festival there are two sermons, and these would fall to Zwingli to deliver as preacher of the abbey. Before the Reformation the selection of preacher was simply on the idea of having the best available talent, but since then choice has been generally limited to the preaching orders. The subject of the sermons is assigned by the abbot, who in 1522 appointed the Gospel of Luke. Disputations on theological and philosophical things

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and other appliances which have been left by those who were cured at the shrine. Pope Julius, in his Bull, "Pastoris Æterni," testifies to such cures (Ringholz, p. 343). In Zwingli's day they had no questioners. But in this sceptical age more is required than simply the exhibition of casts or surgical inventions to secure belief in the tales of cure, and those seen in the church on August 20, 1897, were rather old, as if there had not been any cases of cure there recently.

VIRGIN AND CHILD IN CHAPEL AT EINSIEDELN.

were a feature of these festivals. On every Sunday of the year and on all festival days of the Church there was preaching and, as Einsiedeln was always full of strangers, the preachers were sure of an audience and to have reports of their sermons carried far away.

The town of Einsiedeln now numbers some nine thousand inhabitants, mostly engaged in ministering to the needs of pilgrims. It doubtless presented the same general appearance in Zwingli's day that it does at present. Going thither to escape the petty but persistent persecution of the French party he found himself congenially situated. The library of the monastery was already large, and he had means put at his disposal to increase it.[1] Both the abbot and the administrator were friendly to the New Learning—the latter was indeed a man of some scholarship[2]; and there were constantly coming thither scholars and prominent persons from all parts. His duties as preacher did not claim all his time, and as he had the true student's insatiable thirst for knowledge, he made the most of his opportunities, and laid in a considerable increment to those stores of learning he had already collected. It was in this Einsiedeln period that he always dated his arrival at evangelical truth. He was at all events, then, confirmed in that rejection of the scholastic method and theology which were

[1] See the letter of Glareanus, who acted as his literary agent, of October 24, 1516 (vii., 17). Zwingli alludes to his facilities for study.

[2] VII., 59.

in vogue, and had turned to the Bible as the sufficient revelation of the will of God, and used the Fathers as helpful but fallible interpreters of the Word.

In August, 1518, the Franciscan monk, Bernhardin Samson, or as he signed himself in his letters of indulgence, Sanson, made his appearance in Switzerland as the papally commissioned seller of indulgences to the Swiss. As he entered the canton Schwyz in which Einsiedeln is located, it is probable that he came to Einsiedeln. But Hugo von Landenburg, the Bishop of Constance, and John Faber, or Fabri, his vicar-general, were both much opposed to the traffic in indulgences and incited Zwingli to preach against it, and Samson left the canton. An indulgence, properly speaking, is a remission of the temporal consequences of sins. The saints are in Catholic theology supposed to have performed good works far in excess of those needed for their salvation. These good works constitute a treasury upon which the Pope can draw at will, and such drafts are honoured in the shape of lessening or altogether obliterating the punishment in purgatory. But though it was entirely contrary to their alleged instructions, and certainly to the official teaching, it is the fact that the sellers of indulgence often so represented the matter that the purchasers of the article supposed that they were buying exemption from the punishment of those sins which the Church theology declared were damning, and also buying permission to commit sins! The sale of indulgences was immensely increased by this misconception,

and the Pope for whose benefit ostensibly the traffic was carried on profited thereby. To Zwingli the business appeared amusing. He had no appreciation apparently of the enormity of the conduct of the Pope in selling what he should have rejoiced to give his subjects — viz., the lessening or extinction of purgatorial pains in themselves and others. In writing Beatus Rhenanus he gave a laughable description of Samson and showed how he used all the arts of the auctioneer in the disposal of his wares.[1]

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[1] This letter has been lost. Our knowledge of it and its contents comes from Rhenanus, who, in his reply, dated Basel, December 6, 1518 (vii., 57 *sq.*), strikes a deeper note, shows a more earnest spirit, and bears welcome testimony to the quality of Zwingli's preaching. He thus speaks: "I have laughed a great deal at the peddler of indulgences [Samson], whom you depicted so vividly in your letter. They give letters to the leaders in a war for those who shall perish in battle. How petty and unworthy of the representatives of the Pope these things are! What will they not think up so that Italy may get our money! And yet I do not consider this is a laughing matter, but rather one for tears. For nothing grieves me more than to see a Christian people laden with ceremonies that do not reach the heart of the matter or that are rather empty nothings. And I see no cause for it except that the priests, deceived by those mule-driving sophistical theologians, teach heathen and Jewish doctrines. I am now speaking of the rank and file of the priesthood. For it does not escape me that you and those like you bring forth to the people the pure philosophy of Christ, straight from the fountain, uncorrupted by interpretation of Scotist [follower of Duns Scotus, 1260–1308] or Gabrielist [follower of Gabriel Biel, 1425–1495], but expounded by Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian, Jerome, faithfully and correctly. But those people standing in a position where whatever is said the people at large think is true, bleat out nonsense about the power of the Pope, remission, purgatory, counterfeit miracles by the saints, restitution contracts, vows, pains of the damned, Antichrist. But you in preaching to your congregation show the whole doctrine

Zwingli in 1523 thus describes his preaching at Einsiedeln:

"I began to preach the gospel of Christ in the year 1516 before anyone in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther; for I never left the pulpit without taking the words of the gospel as used in the mass service of the day and expounding them by means of the Scriptures; although at first I relied much upon the Fathers as expositors and explainers." [1]

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of Christ briefly displayed as in a picture; how Christ was sent down to the earth by God to teach us the will of the Father, to show us that this world, *i. e.*, riches, honour, authority, pleasures, and all that kind of thing, are to be contemned so that the heavenly country can be sought with the whole heart, to teach us peace and concord and the attractive community of all possession (for Christianity is nothing else)—even as Plato dreamed of in his Republic, for he is to be numbered among the great prophets; to take away from us foolish affections of earthly affairs concerning country, parents, relatives, health, and other possessions, to declare that poverty and disadvantages in this life are not real evils." Very likely this letter is not to be taken as a full description either of monastic preaching or of Zwingli's. But it presents doubtless the contrast between them; how the monks discoursed on Church teaching in reliance upon the scholastics where Zwingli relied upon the great Fathers, handled themes of vital importance, and based his doctrine upon the Bible itself. Another witness to the biblical quality of his preaching at that time is Caspar Hedio, subsequently the Reformer of Strassburg, who wrote from Basel to Zwingli on November 6, 1519 (vii., 89), in the following very complimentary terms respecting a sermon he heard him preach at Einsiedeln at Pentecost, apparently of that year, 1519, from Luke, v., 17–26, the story of the paralytic: "I was greatly charmed by an address of yours, so elegant, learned, and weighty, fluent, discerning, and evangelical, such a one as plainly recalled the energy of the old theologians. . . . That address, I say, so inflamed me that I began at once to feel a deep affection for Zwingli, to respect and admire him."

[1] I., 253.

This sort of preaching was so great a contrast to that ordinarily heard, that it must have occasioned remark. That it was popular was shown in his subsequent call to Zurich. Yet the sticklers for orthodoxy must have scented heresy in his implied contempt or low valuation of the scholastic and monastic topics for sermons, and perhaps it was his protection that he had so warm a friend in the administrator, and that the abbot was such a perfect indifferentist in matters of religious controversy.[1] The papal chaplain of the monastery, Zink,[2] was also a friend of the New Learning, and defended Zwingli's practices.

Einsiedeln was frequently visited by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and as they were off duty they were the more inclined to discuss matters informally and candidly. Zwingli thus alludes in 1525 to his intercourse with some of them:

"I will call upon the witness of living persons. Before the dissension [*i. e.*, the Reformation] arose I have spoken with prominent cardinals, bishops, and prelates, and discussed with them errors in doctrine and warned them that they must proceed to do away with abuses if they would not themselves perish in the great upheaval. To the Lord Cardinal of Sitten [Matthew Schinner] I testified eight years ago [*i. e.*, in 1517] at Einsiedeln, and afterward at Zurich often, and in the clearest language, that the papacy had a false foundation, and supported the same from Scripture."[3]

[1] See the story in Bullinger, i., 9.

[2] Also spelled Zinck, Zingg.

[3] II., 1, 7.

Bullinger also tells how Zwingli at Einsiedeln exhorted Hugo, Bishop of Constance, to give free course to the preaching of the pure and clear word of God and to remove gross abuses and superstitions, and that he made similar remarks to Cardinal Schinner, the papal Legate in Switzerland.[1] Of course, he knew that neither of these persons had any authority to do anything of the kind.[2] Of more immediate advantage to him was the instruction in Greek which he received from the famous Italian scholar, Paul Bombasius, the secretary of Cardinal Schinner.[3]

However much Zwingli might speak of the abuses of the Church, the idea of separating from her on account of them never entered his head. In fact in so talking he was like many others who had been talking and talking for nigh a hundred years. Little did Rome care for such talk. And Rome considered that so long as this young Swiss preacher took the papal pension, however reluctantly, he would not do much against her. Still, as he was plainly a man

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[1] Bullinger, i., 10.

[2] This fact did not prevent him subsequently from addressing a formal petition to the Bishop on the same subjects. See p. 166.

[3] There is a letter from Bombasius to Zwingli, dated March 2, 1518 (vii., 35), which is evidence of acquaintance between them. On April 27, 1518 (vii., 42), Valentine Tschudi, writing from Paris, congratulates Zwingli upon securing so learned and skilful a teacher in Greek. But he does not give his name. It is, however, a common conjecture that he meant Bombasius, and as Zwingli was by this time quite well advanced in Greek it is not unlikely that Bombasius and he read some Greek together, and in this sense Bombasius might be said to be his teacher.

EINSIEDELN, FROM A CONTEMPORARY DRAWING.

worth getting more closely bound to the papal chair, a rising man and already a power, the papal Nuncio, Antony Pucci, writing from Zurich on September 1, 1518, announced to him that the Pope, in recognition of his ability and learning, had made him an acolyte chaplain, which was to be sure not a very exalted honour, and at the same time had granted his request to be released from certain ecclesiastical censures.[1] What answer Zwingli made to this letter

[1] The letter is as follows:

"*Appointment of Master Huldreich Zwingli as Papal Acolyte Chaplain, September 1, 1518.*

"Antonio Pucci, Subdean of the church of Florence, Priest of the Apostolic Chamber, Delegate with power of Legate de latere to the Swiss of the ancient Great League of Upper Germany, to our Huldreich Zwingli, beloved in Christ, Rector of the parish church of the village of Glarus in the diocese of Constance, Acolyte Chaplain of our Most Holy Lord, the Pope, and the Apostolic See, eternal salvation in the Lord. Shining in virtues and merits, and commended by our observation and the reports of your laudable reputation, you have won such favour in the sight of our Lord, the Pope, and the Apostolic See that, watching with fatherly interest over your character as a man of letters, we are graciously pleased to raise you to a title of especial honour, according to the powers granted to us by our aforesaid Lord, the Pope. That, therefore, you may effectively see to what the affectionate regard of our heart prompts us, we desire, in view of your aforesaid merits as a Master of Arts, to bestow praise upon you and adorn you with a title and prerogative of special honour, and, in case you are involved in any way in any ecclesiastical judgments, censures, or penalties, of excommunication, suspension, interdict, or of other nature, imposed by law or by man upon any occasion or for any cause, we absolve you from these, so far at least as these presents are concerned, and we decree you absolved, and, inclined thereto by your petition to that effect, and in virtue of the apostolic authority which we enjoy, granted to us by our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Leo X., by divine providence Pope, we hereby receive you as Acolyte Chaplain of our Lord,

is unknown. But he must have been glad to be relieved of the censures, whatever they were.

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the Pope, and the Apostolic See, and graciously enroll you in the number and society of the other Acolyte Chaplains of our Lord, the Pope, and of this See, granting you all the same the right to use, hold, and enjoy fully and freely each and every privilege, prerogative, honour, exemption, favour, freedom, immunity, and indulgence which other Acolyte Chaplains of our Lord, the Pope, and of this See, use, hold, and enjoy, or shall in any way have the right to use, hold, and enjoy hereafter, apostolic enactments and ordinances and all other obstacles whatever to the contrary notwithstanding. So press on, therefore, from good to better in zeal for virtue, that in the sight of our Lord, the Pope, and in our sight, you shall ever establish yourself as worthier of greater rewards, and that our Lord, the Pope, himself, and ourselves may rightly be the more urgently impelled to showing you richer favour and honour. In witness whereof we have ordered and caused these presents to be made and our seal to be attached in token of confirmation. Given at Zurich in the diocese of Constance the first day of September in the year of our Lord's incarnation, one thousand five hundred and eighteen, and of the pontificate of our aforesaid Lord, the Pope, the sixth.

"Free by order of the Reverend Lord Delegate.

"G. von Falk (?). M. Bretini. M. Bretini, Acting Secretary.

"Jo. Nuchelen."

A seal encased in metal depends from the document, arms and a head, encircled by the words: "+ Antoni Pucci Sedis Aplice Proton" ("Antonio Pucci, Protonotary of the Apostolic See").

(On the back in another hand): "Appointment as Acolyte for Master Huldreich Zwingli."

On August 24, 1518, Pucci sent him the letter announcing his appointment (vii., 48, 49), but the above is the formal appointment, translated from Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, i, 19–21.

On March 2, 1518, or months before Pucci's letter, Bombasius in the letter already alluded to (vii., 35) says: "Concerning your acolyte chaplaincy I will do what you have requested in writing as soon as our abbreviator has leisure." The abbreviator is the papal secretary who would have the making out of appointments. So this remark of Bombasius looks very much like an allusion to Zwingli's application for the position of acolyte chaplain.

Zwingli had never looked upon his position at Einsiedeln as more than temporary. And if the times had been propitious he would gladly have returned to Glarus, as has been already said. For one thing his salary was much smaller at Einsiedeln than it had been at Glarus. In 1517 he learned that a call would be extended to him from Winterthur, an important town sixteen miles north-east from Zurich. Desiring to accept it, he consulted his "superiors" at Glarus, as he was still their pastor. But for some reason they refused to relieve him. So he wrote to Winterthur to prevent them from calling him, but on the very day he wrote, the call from them was sent and the two letters must have crossed.[1]

The Zwingli correspondence of the period calls for no special remark except as it relates to the call to Zurich. It has the same general characteristics

[1] This fact would not be found out if the dates given the letters were not translated into the ordinary figures. Many, perhaps most of the letters in the Zwingli correspondence are dated either in classical fashion by ides, kalends, and the like, or by reference to saints' days. Thus Zwingli's letter in question is dated "Friday after SS. Simon and Jude" (vii., 30, or 32), and the Winterthur letter is dated "Friday before All Saints' day" (vii., 32). But by reference to the Roman Church calendar it is discovered that the first date is October 30th, and as All Saints' Day is on November 1st, which that year came on Sunday, the Friday before was October 30th; so both letters were written on the same day. The determination of the day of the week upon which any event occurred, of which we know its year, month, and day, can be learned without a particle of trouble by means of the very ingenious "Perfect Calendar" prepared by Henry Fitch, and published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. Sometimes this information is important, and it is always interesting.

as that of the former period. It is that of a Humanist with broad sympathies. Zwingli was probably pretty closely held at Einsiedeln, yet it appears that he made a visit to Baden, fourteen miles north of Zurich, during 1517.[1]

Excursus on Zwingli's Papal Pension.

Bullinger says (i., 8) that the Pope (Julius II.) gave Zwingli a pension, "for the purchase of books." But this was a sort of euphemism, and was understood on both sides as binding him to some extent to the papal chair, for the Pope was not in the habit of giving pensions to men like Zwingli out of charity or admiration. Yet since Zwingli was then a loyal papalist he could with perfect propriety and in all good conscience accept it. The year of its first bestowal was probably 1512–13. But when he came out as a severe critic of the papacy, as he did in 1517, then his acceptance was not proper, as he himself allows in the passages to be quoted. But he continued to take the papal pension till 1520, when it had become a public scandal and source of trouble, as his enemies were constantly throwing it in his teeth. Why he took it was his poverty, which has been often pleaded in excuse for similar action. Chronologically, the first bit of writing which can be quoted in which he alludes to his fault in continuing to receive the pension is the dedication to the sermon on the Virgin Mary, which he published in 1522. He says: "My connection with the Pope of Rome is now a thing of several years back. At the time it began it seemed to me a proper thing to take his money and to defend his opinions, but when I realised my sin I parted company with him entirely" (i., 86). Next and more explicit was his confession in the "Exposition of the Articles" of the Zurich Disputation of January, 1523: "I had for three years previous [to 1520] been preaching the Gospel with earnestness[2]; on which account I received

[1] See vii., 29. On the portion of Zwingli's life prior to his going to Zurich there is a Bachelor of Theology thesis by Ernest Christen, *Zwingli avant la Réforme de Zurich* (Geneva, 1899), which is intended to be the first part of a complete life of Zwingli. It has been of service in these pages.

[2] Elsewhere he claims to have preached the Gospel since his Einsiedeln days (i., 253; see above, pp. 36, 37).

from the papal cardinals, bishops, and legates, with whom the city has abounded, many friendly and earnest counsels, with threats, or with promises of greater gifts and of benefices. These, however, have had no effect upon me. On the other hand, in 1517 I declined to receive the pension of fifty gulden, which they gave me yearly (yes, they wanted to make it one hundred gulden, but I would not hear to it), but they would not stop it until in 1520 I renounced it in writing. (I confess here my sin before God and all the world, that before 1516 I hung mightily upon the Pope and considered it becoming in me to receive money from the papal treasury. But when the Roman representatives warned me not to preach anything against the Pope, I told them in express and clear words that they had better not believe that I would on account of their money suppress a syllable of the truth.) After I had renounced the pension they saw that I would have nothing more to do with them, so they procured and betrayed (to the Senate), through a spiritual father, a Dominican monk, the manuscript containing in one letter my renunciation and receipt of payment, with a view of driving me out of Zurich. But the scheme failed, because the Honourable Senate knew well that I had not exalted the Pope in my discourses ; so that the money had not affected anything in that direction ; also that I in no way advanced their plans and had twice declined their pension ; also that no one could from the past teaching accuse me of breaking my oath or impairing my honour. On these grounds the Senate declared me innocent " (i., 354). Confirmation of these statements of Zwingli is given in this letter of Francis Zink, the papal chaplain at Einsiedeln : " A little time ago when I heard that you [the Senate of Zurich, to which body he is writing] were about to take up the matter of the people's priest, Huldreich Zwingli, I met him twice in order to give my testimony. But now that I am sick and cannot come in person before your honourable body, I write to tell exactly all about it. . . . Huldreich Zwingli received for some years, while at Glarus, at Einsiedeln, and finally at Zurich, a yearly allowance from the Pope ; but the sole reason why he has done so is his poverty and need, especially while with you at Zurich. And assuredly he would have lacked provision for his family if this support had been taken from him. . . . Nevertheless, this was so great a cross to him that he desired to resign his position with you, having it in mind to come back to Einsiedeln. . . . Moreover, it is perfectly evident that he has never been moved a finger's breadth from the Gospel by

the favour of the Pope, emperor, or noble, but always proclaims the truth and preaches it faithfully among the people. For if he had permitted himself to be turned aside to serve the interests of the papacy in greater measure he might have received one hundred florins a year, not to speak of benefices at Basel or Chur, but none of these enticed him. I was present when the Legate Pucci was frankly told by him that he would not for money advance the papal interests, but would preach and teach the truth to the people in the way which seemed best to him. Under the circumstances he left it entirely to the Legate whether he should grant the pension or not. Hearing this the Legate smoothed him down, saying that even if he [Zwingli] was not inclined to befriend the Pope, still he [the Legate] would befriend him: for he had not made the offer to turn him aside from his purpose [to preach the truth], but had had in view his need and how he might live in greater comfort and purchase books, etc. . . . I wished, therefore, to make this clear to you, not that I might absolve Master Huldreich Zwingli as if he had not received subsidies, but that you might know how he received them, and at what instance it was brought about, that you might see it from the right standpoint." (This letter of Zink's is quoted in the note to vii., 179.) Zwingli was brought before the Senate to explain his inconsistency in taking the Pope's money while attacking him, but this letter of Zink's cleared him and he was not forced to resign. As Zwingli had no adequate support from his people's priest's office he felt the loss of the pension, but in the next year, 1521, he was made a canon in the cathedral and that made up for the lack of it and more (See vii., 182 *sq.*, and p. 151).

EINSIEDELN, CHAPEL OF THE VIRGIN AS IN ZWINGLI'S DAY.

CHAPTER IV

OPENING YEAR IN ZURICH

1519

ON Thursday, October 28, 1518, Oswald Myconius, then teaching the classics at Zurich, wrote Zwingli that the place of people's priest at the Great Minster of Zurich was vacant, and that he ardently longed to see Zwingli in it. He takes it that Zwingli knows all about the vacancy, and desires merely to learn whether he would accept it if it were offered to him.[1] The position was an influential but poorly paid one. To it was attached the duty of preaching in the cathedral. There were in Zurich at this time three parishes, each with a people's priest[2]; that of the Gross Münster (Great Minster) was the most important, as it took in the part of the city on the left bank of the Limmat, the swift stream which empties into the Lake of Zurich; those of the Frau Münster (Minster of Our Lady) and of St. Peter were both on the right bank of the Limmat. Zwingli was asked about the first of these. The vacancy had occurred in consequence of promotions in the chapter of the cathedral,[3] and

[1] VII., 52.

[2] The three constituted according to Zwingli (iii., 9) the board of bishops in Zurich. The office at the Gross Münster dated from 1177 (see S. Voegelin, *Das alte Zürich*, 2d ed., Zurich, 1878, i., 260.)

[3] VII., 52, note.

could scarcely have escaped Zwingli's attention, as he was looking about for a desirable settlement. After a short delay Zwingli replied to Myconius that on the next Wednesday, which was apparently November 17th, he would be in Zurich, and would discuss the matter further.[1] He made the visit doubtless, and consented to be a candidate.[2]

On December 2d, Zwingli wrote Myconius again, and showed that the appearance of a Swabian as a rival candidate had excited his jealous ire. He describes the Swabian in abusive and contemptuous language. Yet that he counted on getting the position is revealed by his remark that he was determined to begin his preaching in the cathedral with an exposition of the Gospel of Matthew as a whole,—"a book," he says, "which is unknown to the Germans,"—in distinction to speaking upon those portions of it which might be in the gospel for the day. He sends greetings to prominent people, among them Cardinal Sander, dean of Warsaw, and exhorts Myconius to continue in his efforts on his behalf.[3] On December 3d, Myconius writes him that his friends in Zurich were many, but that he was ad-

[1] The letter (vii., 52), is dated "Divæ Virginis" which was apparently the Feast of the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is celebrated on the second Sunday in November, which came that year on the 14th, so Wednesday following would be the 17th.

[2] Zwingli's letter to Winterthur (vii., 29) shows that congregations in Catholic Switzerland in the sixteenth century desiring pastors heard candidates, just as American congregations commonly do to-day! But there is no record that he ever preached as a candidate at Zurich.

[3] VII., 53.

versely criticised because he was so fond of music,[1] and because he was so given to worldly pleasures. Myconius had not found it difficult to silence these objections. But another was more serious, viz., the story that he had been guilty of a foul wrong to the daughter of a prominent citizen of Einsiedeln, and Myconius implores Zwingli to give the lying tale prompt and emphatic denial.[2] Whether he wrote to Myconius on the subject is unknown, but he did write to Canon Utinger, who was apparently the leading man of the advocates of Zwingli in the cathedral chapter, and with this chapter the choice rested. The letter[3] in its tone shows that Zwingli was at the time far from being a saint, that he was leading an unchaste life without any appreciation of its guilt, and that he was only anxious that his chances of election should not be injured by the report. As for the report itself, he exposes its entire falsity. His disclaimer was at once accepted as satisfactory, and when the election was held, on Saturday, December 11th, he was the choice of the chapter by a vote of 17 to 7.[4]

On Sunday, December 19th, at Glarus, he laid down his office as pastor there, and at the same time

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[1] Zwingli was afterwards called in Roman Catholic circles "the guitar player and evangelist upon the flute"—so Bullinger reports (i., 31).

[2] VII., 54.

[3] VII., 54–57, dated December 4, 1518.

[4] The date of the election is known from Cardinal Sander's letter, dated December 7th (vii., 58), which informs him that the canons who favoured him were in the majority both in numbers and influence, and that the election would be held on the 11th.

nominated as his successor his former pupil, Valentine Tschudi.[1] His place at Einsiedeln was given to another friend, on his recommendation — Leo Jud, to whom he wrote thus concerning the charge: "The people over whom you are to be placed are single-minded and willingly hear Christ preached unto them, even by me as forerunner; the provision is ample, and the administrator [Diebold von Geroldseck] is a man of fair learning, himself most eager for it, and, above all, a lover of the learned."[2]

The chief ruler and the council of the canton of Schwyz, in which Einsiedeln is located, politely expressed regret at his leaving the canton, but congratulated him upon his promotion, and then improved the opportunity to solicit his influence for a protégé of theirs![3] All the preliminaries being arranged, Zwingli came to Zurich upon St. John the Evangelist's day, which was that year on Monday, December 27th, and took up his temporary abode at the Hermit Hotel, which was at the southern angle of the city wall. He was well and honourably

[1] "In the year 1518, on Sunday before St. Thomas's day [which that year came on Tuesday, December 21st], Master Huldreich Zwingli appeared in person before the authorities of the parish [of Glarus] and returned to them his benefice and asked them collectively to call Valentine Tschudi. Then out of honour and gratitude to [Zwingli] they called Valentine Tschudi" (J. H. Tschudi's "Chronicle of Glarus," quoted in note to vii., 63; *cf.* 65). But Tschudi did not assume the position until October 12, 1522 (vii., 211, note). Consequently the very uncomplimentary language in which Zwingli's successor at Glarus is described (vii., 161 *sqq.*, see p. 89) does not apply to Tschudi.

[2] VII., 59 (December 17, 1518).

[3] VII., 60 (December 21, 1518).

ZWINGLI'S COMMUNION CUP AT GLARUS.

received, although there were many in Zurich not altogether favourable to him.[1] The news of his election naturally occasioned many congratulations from his friends and correspondents.[2]

One of the articles Zwingli brought with him from Einsiedeln was of his own manufacture, namely, a copy of the Pauline Epistles, called a "Paulinus," made from a copy of the first published Greek New Testament, that of Erasmus, printed by Froben in Basel, and published in 1516. He made the transcript probably from the copy purchased for the library at Einsiedeln, at his suggestion.[3] On the last page of this transcript are several lines in Greek, of which the English translation is this:

"These Epistles were written at [Einsiedeln] the Hermitage of the Blessed Mother of God, by Huldreich Zwingli of the Swiss Toggenburg in [the year] one thousand five hundred seven and ten after the Incarnation in the month Skirophorion [*i. e.*, the 12th Attic month, corresponding to the last part of June and the first part of July] happily ended."[4]

On the margin of this transcript he wrote annotations from Erasmus, Origen, Chrysostom, Ambrose,

[1] Bullinger, i., 11. So Christoffel, Eng. trans., p. 35; *cf.* Voegelin, *Das alte Zürich*, i., 560; *cf.* ii., 387. It is supposed that he came down the lake by boat and landed near the spot just back of the Wasserkirche, where his statue now stands.

[2] *Cf.* vii., 62, 66, 72.

[3] This is at least probable, for his friend Glareanus in Basel acted as his literary agent, and speaks (vii., 17) of the monastery buying the works of Jerome.

[4] The Greek text and a translation appear in Dr. Schaff's *Church History*, vii., 31.

and Jerome. His object in making it was to have the Pauline Epistles in convenient form for carrying around and for memorisation, and he actually committed them to memory.[1]

On Saturday, January 1, 1519, he presented himself to the assembled canons, and was formally inducted into his office as people's priest. Much stress was laid upon his duty to preserve and increase the revenues of the cathedral.[2] In reply Zwingli thanked them for electing him, requested their prayers and the prayers of the congregation, and then announced that he would begin the next day the continuous exposition of the Gospel of Matthew, not according to the Fathers, but according to the Scriptures themselves. This announcement made a decided sensation, as it was a marked deviation from the practice of following the pericopes and interpreting them patristically, and awakened some adverse criticism.[3]

Of stalwart frame, above middle height, of a ruddy countenance and pleasing expression, he made a good impression upon spectators,[4] and when he spoke he soon showed that he was an orator who could enchain the attention.[5] All Zurich, and indeed

[1] So Myconius, p. 5. See Excursus I. at end of chapter.

[2] Schuler, *Zwingli's Bildungsgeschichte*, p. 227 *sq.*

[3] His example was followed elsewhere (vii., 120, 132).

[4] Kessler, *Sabbata*, ed. Goetzinger, i., 169.

[5] The idea that Zwingli had a weak voice came apparently from this passage in a letter from his intimate friend, Myconius, dated Pentecost, 1520: "They continue to vomit forth against Zwingli, not indeed poorly interpreting the truth. but wholly perverting it. Such news as this perhaps you hear from Loriti, for he was present at the banquet where such things were said; or from Grebel, to

all Switzerland, rang with his praise. And not only town people but the country folk also listened to him with delight. For the benefit of the latter he preached every Friday, which was market-day, in the market-place, and took the Psalms for continuous exposition. On Sundays in the cathedral he expounded during his first four years, and in this order, Matthew, Acts, I. Timothy, Galatians, II. Timothy, I. and II. Peter, and Hebrews.[1]

From his correspondence and allusions in his works a correct knowledge may be derived as to his topics in the opening years of his residence in Zurich. He treated practical themes suggested naturally by the Scripture under consideration. Unbelief and superstition, repentance and reformation, crimes and vices, luxury and extravagance, were animadverted on. He was emphatically the patriot in the pulpit, and preached to the times—against pensionaries and mercenaries, against the war spirit and the

whom also they were blabbed out. At some future time you will be said to have a voice which is so indistinct that what you say is scarcely heard three steps away. But I see that this is a lie, since you are heard by all Switzerland. Perhaps the wine of Zurich has so opened the organ of the throat by its sharpness, that now you are referred to as a stentor in voice" (vii., 135). If Zwingli's voice was originally weak he had probably strengthened it, but it is much more probable that he had a powerful voice, and so Myconius's remark was a joke. At all events a correspondent in 1524 speaks of it as "sonorous" (vii., 328), and in his little book on *Christian Education* Zwingli shows that he understood elocution (iv., 153, Eng. trans. by Reichenbach, pp. 74, 75). His gestures were commended by the dean of Lucerne, as well as his boldness in speaking (vii., 226).

[1] Bullinger, i., 31. This order is also given by Zwingli in his sermon on the "Choice of Foods," Appendix to this volume.

lying spirit, against the oppression of the poor and the making of widows and orphans, against the destruction of Swiss freedom and Swiss honour.[1] Such preaching had probably little that was spiritual and experimental, because his private life was not of the sort to make spiritual insight a possibility,—it is only the pure in heart that see God,—but it was lively and helpful, and made a sensation. Many did not like it, but the majority rallied around the brave and honest man.[2]

Soon after his coming to Zurich, the indulgence seller, Bernhardin Samson, already mentioned in connection with Einsiedeln,[3] approached the city. He had been doing good business elsewhere. In Basel, Lupulus, Zwingli's old teacher, had acted as his interpreter, and there he had reaped quite a harvest. It was currently reported that he was taking a great deal of money with him to the Pope. But he was coming to Zurich in no pleasant frame of mind. At Bremgarten, ten miles west of Zurich, the *dekan*, Henry Bullinger, the father of the successor of Zwingli, had forbidden him the church for his business, and in a rage he had turned away toward Zurich to lay his complaint before the Diet then sitting in that city. He must have been aware that Zwingli, who had opposed his methods at Einsiedeln, was then there, and that his opposition to him had the backing, if not the incitement, of the

[1] See Excursus II. at end of chapter.

[2] Bullinger has given (i., 12, 13) a description of his preaching, from which the above is in part taken.

[3] P. 106.

Bishop of Constance, and of his vicar-general.[1] Still, Samson trusted to the Pope's commission and his own arts to carry him through. Zwingli preached against him, and had the local hierarchy's support. This fact strengthened the magistracy, and so when Samson had come to the very entrance to Zurich, and had put up at the Ox Hotel,[2] he was requested by the authorities to retire. This, however, he did not do, but, on the contrary, he appeared before the Diet and demanded a hearing. He offered to be at the expense of a special messenger to Rome to bring back word as to the authenticity of his commission. The Diet allowed him to remain in the country till an answer could be received from Rome, but commissioned Felix Grebel, who was going to Rome, to act as their representative and lay their complaints on the subject before the Pope, Leo X.

In reply, the Pope, through his secretary, wrote on May 1, 1519:

"Since His Holiness has lately learned from your letter that Brother Bernhardin [Samson] in preaching concerning indulgences has fallen into certain errors which cause His Holiness great astonishment, so I am instructed to announce to you in His name that if the brother is burdensome to you on account of his preaching you

[1] Regius, under date of March 2, 1519, had just informed Zwingli that the vicar-general's "stomach is turned at certain pardons and indulgences that a well-known Minorite is peddling all over Switzerland" (vii., 69).

[2] This inn dated from 1465. *Cf.* Voegelin, *Das alte Zürich*, i., 611; ii., 397. It was on the south side of Sihlstrasse, near the Rennwegthor, the north-west gate of the city.

would send him, if you choose, back to Italy. Still His Holiness would prefer that you allow him to stay the full time of his commission among you. However, His Holiness will do everything for you which advances your salvation. Therefore I beg you, mighty lords, that if you had rather that Brother Bernhardin return to Italy than remain with you, send him off without ceremony. If he has erred in his utterances he must give an account of himself to his lord and be punished as he deserves." [1]

At the same time the Pope wrote, through his secretary, this letter to Samson:

"The noble lords of the Thirteen Swiss cantons have complained to the Supreme Pontiff regarding your Paternity that in the promulgation of the indulgences you have fallen into certain errors, which it would take too much space to insert here. Whereat His Holiness, being greatly astonished, ordered me verbally to admonish you in His name to adapt yourself in all things to the wishes of the aforesaid lords of the Swiss; if they decree to have you remain till the expiration of the time named in your commission stay so long, but if to return offer no opposition. Nay, the will of our Most Holy Lord is that what conduces to the spiritual advantage of these lords, beloved sons of His Holiness, you do as much as possible. Your Paternity may show the present letter to the mighty lords of the Swiss.

"From the Convent Ara Cœli [Rome], May 1, 1519." [2]

The upshot of the matter was that Samson left

[1] Hottinger, *Hist. Eccl. Nov. T.*, vii., 179–180.
[2] Quoted in note to vii., 79.

Switzerland that summer for good, and to the general satisfaction, and vanishes from history.[1]

As his correspondence for the year 1519 plainly shows, Zwingli and his friends were deeply interested in the news and rumours, hopes and fears, plans and plots, which agitated all Europe between January 12, 1519, when the Emperor Maximilian died, and June 28th, when the electors chose Charles V. as his successor.[2] Zwingli was opposed to the Swiss as a nation taking any part in the bargains, and, alas, bribery, preliminary to the choice. He is reported to have said:

"Charles is a young prince, Spain is a grasping, restless, proud, dissolute people. Why should the Germans so inconsiderately put such a prince over them as their head? It was perfectly evident such a prince would rule the Germans to their injury, and under the cover of zeal for the faith, abuse their confidence and rob them of the Word of God."[3]

[1] Fabri or (Faber), the vicar-general, expresses himself as pleased at the news (vii., 79). Zwingli, in 1523 (i., 97), blames himself and other priests for their deception in the matter of indulgences.

[2] *E. g.*, vii., 65, 70, 71, 73, 76, and Supplement, 17–19.

[3] Bullinger, i., 27. Edward Fueter, in his doctor of philosophy inaugural dissertation, *Der Anteil der Eidgenossenschaft an der Wahl Karls V.* (Basel, 1899), on pp. 73–75, questions the accuracy of Bullinger's memory upon this point, and appeals to Zwingli's letters to Beatus Rhenanus as given in the Supplement to Zwingli's works. The first of the two passages alluded to was written on March 21, 1519, and is quoted on next page. The second is this: Writing on March 25th, he says: "The Swiss have nothing less in mind than that the Frenchman should assume imperial rank, or at least they pretend to have that purpose. For we are as thickly covered over with acts of wickedness as the leopard is with spots,

But the Swiss formally threw their influence in favour of Charles, April 3, 1519.[1]

Zwingli was witness of the shifty policy of the Pope (Leo X.) during the negotiations which preceded the imperial election.[2] He was also aware of the machinations of the same Pope against Luther. Writing to Rhenanus on March 21, 1519, he thus expresses himself on both points, and promises to do his part in opposing such designs:

"It pained me that the man-pleaser, or, if you prefer, the cuckoo [*i. e.*, the Pope], is entertaining designs against the rising theology, like the Frenchman's [the French

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and you will not easily recognise who speaks from his heart and who from his head. Nevertheless, a part of the good are thus far in better mind" (Supplement, 18). But these passages do not contradict Bullinger's statement.

[1] VII., 75, note. In 1530, writing to Conradson, Zwingli says: "What has Germany to do with Rome? Why, not even the Roman priests receive him [the Emperor] into their city and their homes! Ponder this rhyme,

"'Popedom and Cæsardom
Are both of them from Rome.'

It was not enough that by the more than treasonable wiles of the pontiff the Christian world had been circumvented for so many ages, during which nevertheless the rulers either did not assent to or at least did not favour [the thing]; they had to take unto themselves the evil of elevating an unskilled man, a superstitious Spanish youth, to the loftiest pinnacle. This one is not able to understand German because of his ignorance, nor to respond to their [the Germans'] demands [in their own language]" (Supplement, p. 39). That Charles was not quite so ignorant of German appears from his reading aloud at the Diet of Augsburg a speech in German.

[2] See them impartially and fully set forth by Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vi., 110–117.

King's] against Germany. . . . May Christ so order it that I may be able — at least to some extent — to disclose the shamefulness of this wanton clothed in purple, that by this means Israel may see the light which has come into the world, and that Christ is dishonoured by her." [1]

A remarkable instance of the readiness of at least one Roman Catholic prelate to protect Zwingli against printed attacks is given in a letter from Basel, dated November 21, 1519,[2] from which it appears that a certain monk had preached against Zwingli, as he had a perfect right to do, and had gone to Basel to have his polemical sermons printed. But Zwingli, through another friend, asked his friend, Cardinal Schinner, who was in Basel, to have an embargo put upon the volume, and the Cardinal so managed things that the monk could not secure a printer in Basel! Another friend of Zwingli's (Capito), living in Strassburg, undertook to exclude the same monk from the presses of that city.[3] But this was a dangerous game for the friends of progress to play.

In this year, 1519, there comes into the correspondence of Zwingli a new and auspicious name—Luther. As the best indication of the way Luther's fame was spreading, and how keenly Zwingli enjoyed his writings,—of which he had no knowledge, at all events by personal reading, until he had passed the exposition of the Lord's Prayer in his sermons on

[1] Supplement, p. 18.

[2] VII., 96.

[3] Zwingli reported this intelligence to Myconius, vii., 98.

Matthew,[1] — the incidental remarks and allusions in the correspondence of the year may be cited.[2] They seem to contradict Myconius's statement that Zwingli purposely refrained from reading Luther's writings.[3] Zwingli was jealous of the claim of chronological antecedence made for Luther. This was a weakness of a very venial order. The fact is that neither Luther nor Zwingli was more than a centre of the reformatory movement which had been gathering force before they were born. Leaders do not create the movements they head. The fame of Luther has so eclipsed Zwingli's that the latter's claim of precedence in time is one of the unnoticed things in history. They came to a knowledge of the same essential truths simultaneously, and should have rejoiced in the fact. Instead, Zwingli was anxious to assure everybody that he had discovered the Gospel before Luther was heard of in Switzerland, as if it were some invention on which he sought a patent! Erasmus was another one who repeatedly remarked that he had not read Luther, but then this conduct was in order to make life easier for himself with his friends among the Catholic princes and ecclesiastics. He also had his claim, and it was that Luther, and, *a fortiori*, Zwingli, only taught what he had told them![4]

From the Zwingli correspondence of 1519 it is learned that opposition to his preaching had led to such violence that he was in some personal danger[5];

[1] I., 254.
[2] See Excursus at end of this chapter.
[3] P. 7.
[4] *Cf.* Emerton's *Erasmus*, *e. g.*, 298 *sqq.*
[5] VII., 74; Supplement, 21.

and also that he had intimate relations with Cardinal Schinner.[1]

In the same year, 1519, the plague appeared in Switzerland.[2] As it had not yet come to Zurich, Zwingli went on a holiday that summer to Pfaefers,[3] about sixty miles south-east of Zurich. In the village was a large Benedictine monastery, in which he probably stopped. There Zwingli was when the news reached him that the plague had broken out in Zurich. As it was the duty of the people's priest to be on service in the city during plague time, he hastened back,[4] and did his duty faithfully. The plague was very severe, for 2500 died of it out of an aggregate population in the three parishes of only 17,000. It broke out on St. Lawrence's day (Wednesday, August 10, 1519), reached its height September 12th, and subsided in Christmas week,[5] yet lingered for a year after that. Zwingli fell a victim toward the end of September,[6]

[1] *E. g.*, vii., 75, 96, 98.

[2] Allusions to its being in Basel occur in vii., 83.

[3] Allusion to this visit occurs in vii., 119. The famous medicinal spring is in a deep gorge under the village. The monastery where he probably stopped is now a lunatic asylum. He went thither in the latter part of July, as an undated letter (vii., 84) alludes to his absence from the city and to a money payment due on St. Verena's day (July 22d).

[4] He took the most direct route, which was probably down the Lake of Zurich, and not the more comfortable one, perhaps, by way of Old St. John's (vii., 88). This accounts for the complaint, in the passage just cited, of the abbot of Old St. John's that Zwingli had not visited him on his return.

[5] So Bullinger, i., 28.

[6] VII., 87, note. On September 22d, a friend, writing from Wesen, speaks of him as up to that time having escaped (vii., 87). Bullinger

and was very sick. By November he was able to write again.[1] But his recovery was slow. On November 30th, he complains that the disease had left his memory weakened, his spirits reduced, so that his mind wandered when preaching, and after preaching he felt thoroughly exhausted.[2] On December 31st, he reported himself as well again, and that the last ulcer caused by the malady had healed.[3] But his rejoicing was premature, as on March 27, 1520, he complains that he had eaten and drunk many drugs to get rid of his fever, and still his head was weak, although he was daily growing better.[4] After his recovery, as a memorial of this serious illness, he composed this poem, which has some literary merit, and at all events shows that his look into eternity had sobered his spirit:

A CHRISTIAN SONG WRITTEN BY HULDRYCH ZWINGLI WHEN HE WAS ATTACKED BY THE PESTILENCE.[5]

I. At the Beginning of the Illness.

Help, Lord God, help
In this trouble!
So let it be!
Do what Thou wilt;

says (i., 28) he fell sick "in August," but this is a mistake. He was sick when Andrew wrote on October 13th (vii., 88, *cf.* pp. 65, 66 of this volume).

[1] Andrew's letter (vii., 88, see p. 66 of this volume) acknowledging one from Zwingli is unfortunately not dated, but is probably correctly put by the editors before November 6, 1519.

[2] VII., 99. [3] VII., 104. [4] VII., 124.

[5] II., 2, 270–272; pp. 269–270 discuss the origin of the poem and its form; pp. 272–274 reprint a poetical paraphrase in modern German, which departs widely from the original; the poetical version given in the English translation in Merle D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1853, ii., 466 *sqq.*),

I think, Death is at the door.
Stand before[1] me, Christ;
For Thou hast overcome him!
To Thee I cry:
If it is Thy will,
Take out the dart,
Which wounds me!
Nor lets me have an hour's
Rest or repose!
Will'st Thou however
That Death take me
In the midst of my days,
Me nothing lacks.[2]
Thy vessel am I;
To make or break altogether.
For, if Thou takest away
My spirit
From this earth,
Thou dost it, that it[3] may not grow worse,
Nor spot
The pious lives and ways of others.

II. In the Midst of his Illness.

Console me, Lord God, console me!
The illness increases,
Pain and fear seize
My soul and body.
Come to me then,
With Thy grace, O my only consolation!
It[4] will surely save
Everyone, who
His heart's desire
And hope sets
On Thee, and who besides
My tongue is dumb,
It cannot speak a word.
My senses are all blighted.
Therefore is it time
That Thou my fight
Conductest hereafter;
Since I am not
So strong, that I
Can bravely
Make resistance
To the Devil's wiles and treacherous hand.
Still will my spirit

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and the better one in Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* (vii., 44-46, with the original text), represent the original form to some extent, but they do not give all the lines and are paraphrastic. In order to enable the reader to have the entire poem and the exact meaning of the author, it is here given in literal prose translation, line by line, as far as the idiom admits.

[1] In the sense of "protect."

[2] The words may also mean equally well, "nothing shall be too much for me."

[3] "It," *i. e.*, my spirit.

[4] "It," *i. e.*, Thy grace.

Despises all gain and loss.
Now all is up.
Constantly abide by Thee, however he rages.

III. During Convalescence.

Sound, Lord God, sound!
I think, I am
Already coming back.[1]
Yes, if it please Thee,
That no spark of sin
Rule me longer on earth,
Then my lips must
Thy praise and teaching
Bespeak more
Than ever before,
However it may go,
In simplicity and with no danger.
Although I must
The punishment of death
Sometime endure
Perhaps with greater anguish,
Than would now have
Happened,[2] Lord!
Since I came
So near[3];
So will I still
The spite and boasting
Of this world
Bear joyfully for the sake of the reward
By Thy help,
Without which nothing can be perfect.

So in useful labours, but also with many painful hours, much anxiety, an almost deadly sickness followed by a slow recovery, the first year of Zwingli's residence in Zurich passed away. His mode of life is thus described, and the description is true of his remaining years: he rose early, and studied, standing up, till 10 o'clock; after dinner, which commonly at that time in Zurich came on at 11 A.M., until 2 P.M., he was free to all who came; from 2 P.M. till supper-time he studied; after supper he walked out a little; then returned to study or to write letters, which latter occupation sometimes kept him up till

[1] *I. e.*, to health, to myself.
[2] *I. e.*, if I had died this time.
[3] *I. e.*, to death's door.

midnight.[1] He read much in the classics: Aristotle, Plato, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Hesiod, Lucian, Theocritus, and Aristophanes, Homer, and especially Pindar, are to be mentioned as the Greek authors he was most familiar with; while his Latin favourites were Horace, Sallust, and Seneca. He had begun the study of Hebrew at Einsiedeln, but soon dropped it. Now he took it up again under Andreas Boeschenstein.[2] As at Glarus, he had pupils in his house. He also gave instruction in Greek in the cathedral school.[3]

EXCURSUS

I. On Zwingli's Autographic Paulinus, i. e., Self-made Transcript of the Pauline Epistles.

That the text of this autographic copy is the first Erasmus is acknowledged. This had appeared in the spring of 1516. The Greek text itself is dated merely with the year 1516; the colophon, February, 1516; the last page of the Annotations of Erasmus, which is part of the book, the Kalends of March, 1516; the preface of Froben, the printer and publisher, "Basileæ sexto Calendas Martias Anno MDXVI," *i. e.*, Sunday, March 2, 1516. There is no evidence that Zwingli ever possessed personally a copy of this first edition of the Greek Testament. That which is called his Bible of the Glarean and Einsiedeln periods is a Latin Bible, and his first Greek Bible is the Aldine edition of 1518. See the catalogue of the Zwingli exhibition of January, 1884, pp. 7, 8. In the lines cited on page 121, Zwingli gives the date of his *Paulinus* as 1517; while in his *Amica Exegesis*, which appeared in 1527, he says (iii., 543): "God is

[1] So Myconius, pp. 7, 8; Bullinger, i., 30; and pp. 91, 92 of this volume.

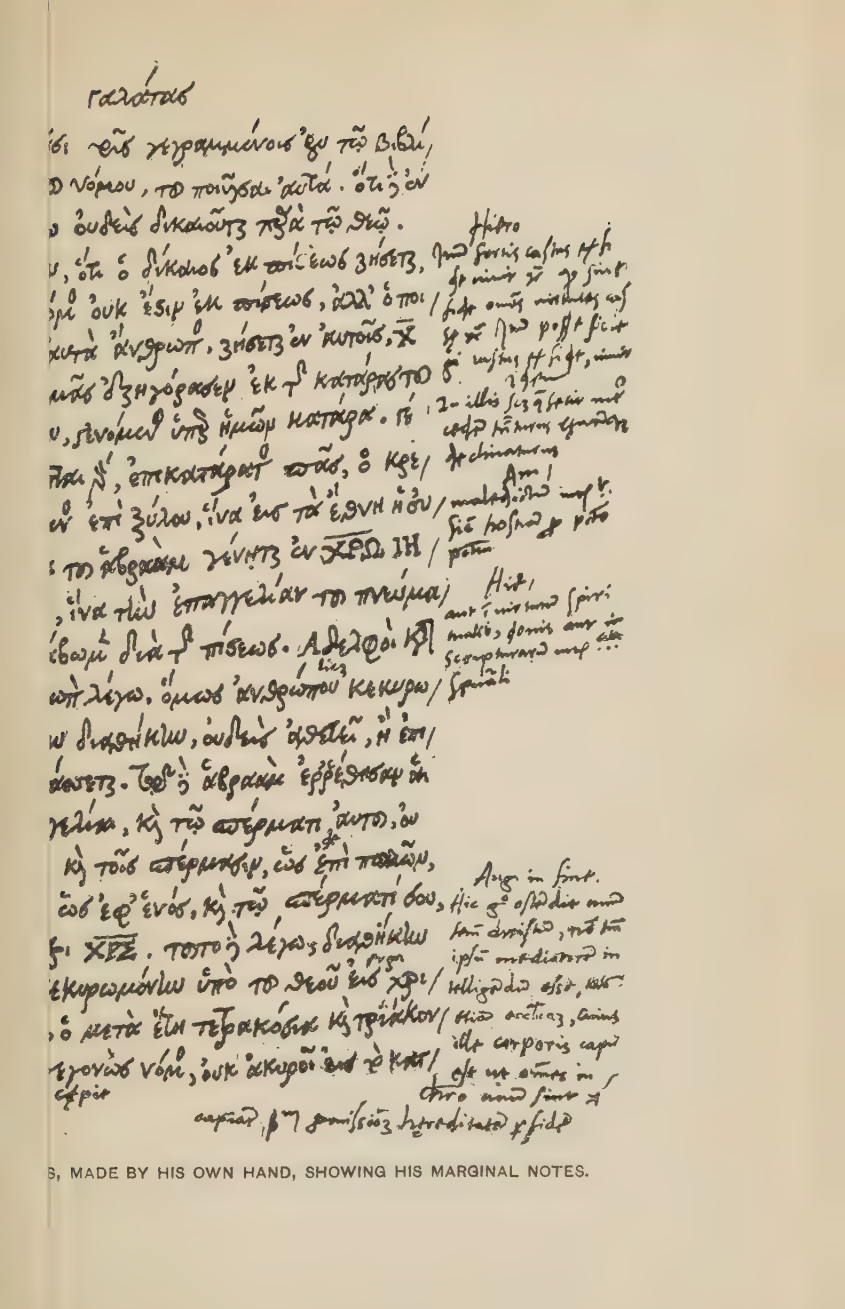
[2] He confessed in 1526 that his Hebrew learning was inconsiderable (vii., 534).

[3] Zwingli gives an insight into his busy life in his letter to Rhenanus of June 17, 1520 (Supplement, 25–27).

my witness that I owe my knowledge of the essence and contents of the Gospel to the reading of the writings of John and of Augustine, and with special attention, the Epistles of Paul, a copy of which I made with my own hands eleven years ago." Myconius, Zwingli's first biographer, explicitly puts the copy in the Glarean period, for when writing of it he says: "He copied Paul's Epistles and committed them to memory" (*loc. cit.*, p. 5). So does Bullinger, who however relied much upon Myconius, for, speaking of the Glarean period, he says: "Among other performances he copied the Epistles of Paul in Greek and committed them to memory. And when the first Annotations of Erasmus of Rotterdam appeared he copied some of the notable ones into his written *Paulinus*, as he did also annotations from Origen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome" (*loc. cit.*, i., 8). The explanation of Zwingli's apparent uncertainty whether the *Paulinus* was made in 1516 or 1517 is probably that the copy used was that in the library at Einsiedeln, and the copying was begun during his visits there before he finally left Glarus, *i. e.*, between April and October, 1516, but finished the next year, and the marginalia later. The copy he made of the Epistles is in the city library in Zurich, being presented to the city in 1634 by his great-granddaughter, Anna Zwingli. See preface to this volume, and the photographs direct from its pages.

II. On Zwingli's Preaching against the Pensioners and Pensions.

Bullinger (i., 51), as quoted in Zwingli's *Works* (ii., 2, 350), thus wrote of Zwingli's preaching in 1521 against the pensioners and the pensions: "Zwingli preached at this time very earnestly against taking money, saying that it would break up and disturb the pious Confederation. He spoke also against unions with princes and lords. If they were made, each honest man should regard them. What had been promised should also be kept. Therefore, no one should enter into any unions; and if God helps a people out of unions, they should avoid entering into them again; for they cost much blood. And I wish, said he, Zwingli, that they had made a hole in the union with the Pope, and had given his messenger something to carry home on his back. He said also that one would be aroused about a voracious wolf, but they do not offer protection from



S, MADE BY HIS OWN HAND, SHOWING HIS MARGINAL NOTES.

the wolves which destroy men. They may well wear red hats and mantles; for if one should shake them, ducats and crowns would fall out; if one should wring them, there would run from them his son's, brother's, father's, and good friends' blood."

The editors of Zwingli's *Works* then go on (ii., 2, 350) to say, and in order to present a concluding specimen of Zwingli's preaching against pensioners and pensions, the passage is here given: "When the news was spread abroad of the defeat at Pavia, on the 24th of January, 1525, when of ten thousand Swiss five thousand remained upon the battle-field, and the other fleeing five thousand were plundered, as they deserved, by the country-people, and driven home in disgrace, bringing nothing with them but rags and sickness, great grief was caused, and complaints arose throughout the Confederation, and people cursed aloud the union with France, the pensions, and the war money. Then, as Bullinger reports, 'Zwingli stood in the pulpit on Sunday, the 6th of March [1525], and preached about the old condition of the Confederation, telling how simple and pious the people of former days had been, who had received from God great victories and special mercies. Now, the people have changed; therefore, God is punishing us so severely. And it cannot be helped, unless we return again to our former piety, innocence, and simplicity. Otherwise, we shall gradually fall like the leaves, and finally be entirely destroyed, yes, ruined. God will not endure arrogance. He showed how there were in the Confederation two kinds of nobility, who did much more injury than the old nobility had ever done in times past. For these were in the midst of us, and were of us. The first nobility are the pensioners, whom he called pear-roasters, because they sat at home behind the stove, and did not come out, and still they got at the treasures of all the lords. They said to the lords great things about the children of honest people, with whom they desired to bring about this and that, of which they, however, said nothing either to the fathers or the children, and still less noticed them. And such do much greater injury among us than any foreign lords. The other nobility are the captains, who walk around in such rich silks, silver, gold, and precious stones, with rings and chains, so that it is a disgrace to the sun and moon, not to mention God and man. One is golden above, and silver below; another is gold below, and velvet or damask above; and the clothing so slit and cut open, that it is a disgrace that one should allow them to strut around so publicly before people's eyes. You know well,

honest people, although it was claimed against me that I had attacked these people and called them blood-suckers and leeches, that I did not do it. But still, I must now say and publicly tell you what these captains are like. And it is the same to me, whether any people regret it or not. For the figure is in itself not as bad as those are of whom I speak. They are like butchers who drive cattle to Constance; they drive the cattle out, take the money for them, and come home without the cattle; then they go out again, and do likewise repeatedly. Thus, also, the pensioners and captains do. They have always succeeded (except once) in coming home from the battles and the cannon—I do not know where they stationed themselves—and bring their money-belts full of money, and have driven away the children of honest people. And immediately they begin again and collect another herd. These they also drive out; and thus they become rich. Now consider, whether one can blame these blood-merchants severely enough; see, also, how these are a much less endurable nobility than the former. Ye know that I staked my neck on it in the beginning, that the union with the king would bring the Confederation into great difficulties. Thus, I say now again that things are not over, and that they will become worse,—yes, must become worse—I stake my life and limb upon this,—unless things change. For the pensioners sit everywhere in the regiments, do not wish to give up the pensions, and therefore do not wish to forbid war. And the captains lead astray as many sheep[1] as they wish, and still people take their hats off to them. If a wolf takes away a sheep or a goose, one is up and aroused. These lead astray many proud men, and no one does anything about it. For everything is overlooked in this matter. Of course no one must go away to war, except him who so desires, and still no authority in the union, no father dares forbid his children to go away to war. Is that a divine union, and an advantage for the Confederation? I tell you, if people do not help to do away with such things, God's vengeance will follow manifold; for God does not allow such arrogance and deception of the poor, common man to go unavenged. God says, do away with the bad in the midst of you. Therefore, if one desires to repent, one must do this promptly and straightway. Still, if one repents, and shows a certain regret for his misdeed, let people take his possessions and property which he has thus gained, and divide it among the widows

[1] The German by misprint has "schiff" instead of "schaf."

and orphans to whom he is responsible. For one must at once destroy this mammon of riches, brought together by pensions and captains' money, like mole-hills in the meadows. And if people do not, one should take staff in hand, and so punish the mowers in the meadows, that they shall be an example to the others. Finally, he urged the people to earnest prayer, that God would grant us a correct understanding, so that the right should please us, and we should do that which pleases God.' "

III. On the Allusions to Luther in the Zwingli Correspondence of 1519.

Luther's name is first mentioned in the Zwingli correspondence in the letter of Nesen, the friend and travelling companion of Melanchthon, from Louvain, April, 1518 (vii., 36–40).

The following writings of Luther are alluded to in the Zwingli correspondence of 1519 (vii., 61–104).

1. A letter from Luther to Bernardus and Conradus Adelmann, canons of Augsburg.

2. "Ein Kurtze form das Pater noster zů verstan vnd zů bettē für die iungen kinder im Christen glauben durch Doctor Martinum Luther: Augustiner ordens zu Vittēberg. Gedruckt zů Basel durch Adā Petri. Als man zalt. M. D. xix."

Reprinted in the Weimar edition of Luther's works, vi., 9–19.

3. "Eyn deutsch Theologia. das ist Eyn edles Buchleyn, von rectem vorstand, was Adam vnd Christus sey, vnd wie Adam yn vns sterben, vnd Christus ersteen sall."

No mention of the Petri reprint, which is apparently referred to here in the Zwingli correspondence, is made in the Weimar edition of Luther, which is usually strong in bibliography. But then that edition (i., 378, 379) only presents the preface, which to be sure is the only part of the book which Luther wrote. Best edition of the complete work by J. K. F. Knaake, Weimar (H. Boehlau), 1883. In English translation by Miss Susanna Winkworth, *Theologia Germanica*, London, 1854, and later editions.

4. "Disputatio et excusatio F. Martini Luther aduersus criminationes D. Johannis Eccii."

Original edition, Wittenberg, 1519; Weimar edition, ii., 158–161.

5. "Die Sieben puszpsalm mit deutscher auszlegung nach dem

schrifftlichen synne tzu Christi vnd gottis gnaden, neben seyn selben. ware erkentniss. grundlich gerichtet."

Original edition, Wittenberg, 1517; Weimar edition, i., 158–220.

6. "Resolvtio Lvtheriana svper propositione sva decima tertia, de potestate papae."

Original edition, Wittenberg, 1519; Basel edition, 1519; Weimar edition, ii., 183–240.

7. "Disputatio excellentium. D. doctorū Iohannis Eccij & Andree Carolostadij q̄ cepta est. Lipsie XXVII. Iunij. AN. M.D. xix. Disputatio secunda. D. Doctorū Iohānis Eccij & Andree Carolostadij q̄ cepit XV. Iulij. Disputatio. Eiusdem D. Iohannis Eccij & D. Martini Lutheri Augustiniani q̄ cepit IIII. Iulij."

The original author and date are uncertain; but very likely the author was Luther and the date December, 1519. The Weimar edition (ii. 254–383) reprints merely the debate between Luther and Eck.

8. Ein Sermon von dem elichen standt Doctoris Martini Luther Augustiner zu Wittenburgh geprediget im Tausend funf hundert vū neuntzehenden Jar.

Original edition, Leipzig, 1519; Weimar edition, ii. 166–171.

Allusions to Luther in the Zwingli correspondence in chronological order:

February 22, 1519. Zwingli to Rhenanus: "Thanks for writing so carefully about M. Luther. But the Abbot of St. John's has very opportunely sent me the letter of a certain tutor at Wittenberg, in which the writer felicitates him upon reading the writings of Luther, a man who really recalls the image of Christ. He adds that as soon as Luther got release from the Cardinal of St. Sixtus [Cardinal Cajetan] at Augsburg [October 20, 1518] he returned straight to Wittenberg [arrived October 31st], where he now preaches Christ constantly, to the great admiration of all, prepared even to be crucified for him. . . . Luther is approved by all the learned at Zurich" (Suppl., 15, 16).

March 19. From Rhenanus, Basel: "I have copied for your benefit the letter Martin Luther sent to the Adelmanns of Augsburg. The manly and firm bearing of the man will delight you"(vii., 71).

March 21. Zwingli to Rhenanus: "I read eagerly your words and Luther's" (Suppl., 17).

March 25. Same to same: "[Sander] did not read the copy of Luther's letter, but he had heard a few things from me, such, for instance, as that the words of Luther and Eck taken down hurriedly

by shorthand writers [at the Leipzig Disputation, June 27 *sqq.*, 1519] will be revised and submitted to the judgment of the Christian world, etc." (Suppl., 18).

May 7. From Rhenanus, Basel: "You soon shall have the Theses of Martin Luther's which he is to defend at Leipzig against errors old and new, together with a letter in which he portrays Eck better than any artist could" (vii., 74).

May 24. Same to same, Basel: "Adam Petri, the printer—I think you know him—is about to print some new treatises of Luther's German, a plain and characteristically Lutheran commentary on the Lord's Prayer [*cf.* i., 254], and also a German Theology [the famous *Theologia Germanica* so admired by Luther], compared with which the subtle theology of Scotus appears gross and dull; and other books of this sort. If you publicly commend these to the people, that is, persuade them to buy them, the work upon which you are engaged will succeed in accordance with your most ardent desires. . . . I send you as a gift the Theses of Luther against Eck and the [commentary on the Lord's] Prayer in German" (vii., 77). [Zwingli commended these from the pulpit, Myconius says (p. 7), without reading them. But this is apparently contradicted by what follows.]

June 7. Zwingli to Rhenanus: "I do not fear that Luther's commentary on the Lord's Prayer will be displeasing to me, nor the popular "Theology," which you say is being finished, and spread among the people in parts every day. I shall buy a considerable quantity, especially if he deals somewhat with the adoration of saints in the commentary" (Suppl., 21, 22).

June 25. Same to same: "When the writings of Luther have come from the press, please send them by the first messenger or carrier who can bring a considerable number" (Suppl., 23).

July 2. From Rhenanus, Basel: "If this Lucius, who brings you this letter, seems to you to have enough prudence and acumen, I should like to have him carry the tracts of Luther, particularly the commentary on the Lord's Prayer—the edition for laymen —to sell them from town to town, and throughout the country, even from house to house, for this will forward our plans in a wonderful degree, and will be an assistance to him. And I do not see why he should not be under great obligation to you, if by your exhortation particularly he shall have been changed from a tramp to a book-agent! And then the wider he is known the more easily he will

find buyers. Who will hesitate to give him a sesterce [*i. e.*, 4½ cents] for an excellent book when he would in any event have made him a present of a trifle? But care must be taken that he have no other kind of books to sell, especially at the present time. For he will sell the more books of Luther's if he has no other, for the purchaser will be, so to speak, coerced into buying them, as would not be the case if he had a variety. If, however, you do not deem him a suitable person look about for some other one to whom you can give letters to your friends, both clerical and lay. In the meantime I have become owner of Luther's commentary in German on the Seven Penitential Psalms, which is both devotional and learned" (vii., 81). [Rhenanus was very zealous in distributing Luther's works, and as appears from his letter was quite modern in his methods. If living to-day he would be sought for to run a subscription-book department!]

July 2. Zwingli to Rhenanus: "William [à Falconibus] dropped this at dinner when Luther had been mentioned; the provost of the monastery of St. Peter's in Basel [Ludovicus Berus] has sent Luther's works to Rome as soon as they were printed" (Suppl., 24).

July 2. From Simon Stumph, Basel: "Have the copies of M. Luther on the Lord's Prayer distributed everywhere, both in country and in city, among the unlearned people as well as among the priests. For I trust that all the people of Zurich will buy it on your advice; and I think it would be well if someone were engaged to do nothing else than to carry it around from place to place, so matters necessary for salvation should become known among all people" (vii., 82).

July 17. From James Ammann, Basel: "I understand that you have Luther's "Pater Noster," as they call it; otherwise I should have sent it by this messenger. I think that Luther has nothing else out which you have not seen except a short sermon in German on the married state. As soon as it is printed at Strassburg I shall send it to you. I have seen a copy of it at Beatus' [Rhenanus]" (vii, 83).

September 23. From Nepos (proof-reader for the printer Froben), Basel: "A little work by Luther on the power of the pope is in our hands, and as soon as it is printed it shall come to you" (vii., 86, 87).

November 13. Zasius, the eminent jurist of Freiburg, one of the great men among the Church laity, sent a long letter all about Luther, in which these sentences occur: "There are in

[Luther] many qualities which you may praise and defend, on the other hand some which excite a little opposition. He has rightly taught that all our good deeds are to be referred to God and nothing is to be attributed to our own will except wickedness. . . . But in this matter of indulgences . . . Luther, more bold than felicitous, hastened to cut the Gordian knot. . . . What Luther has sown abroad about penitence and faith I regard as most salutary. . . . Nevertheless, there run through the teachings of Luther blemishes which affect me painfully. . . . Finally Luther has brought out in his latest little book some things which he regards as proved, as that the pope is not by divine right universal bishop. How much this displeases me I cannot express. . . . Oh, that there were some upright one who would influence Luther not to be so violent but to have regard for the modesty which he everywhere praises, that he mingle not dross with his gold" (vii., 92 *sqq.*).

December 17. From Johann Faber, Constance: "You shall know at an early date what I think in the matter of Carlstadt and Luther. When I have completed this piece of work I will take care that you see it as soon as possible" (vii., 101). [Zwingli did not want to receive it; *cf.*, vii., 116.]

December 28. From Myconius, Lucerne: "There has come into my hands through a Dominican monk an epitome of the discussion of Luther with Eck. I should have sent this to you if I had been sure that you did not have it. This is written by Luther himself, so that I have as much confidence in its accuracy as if I had been present and heard all" (vii., 102).

December 31. Zwingli to Myconius: "I have that epitome [relating to the Leipzig Disputation; see above] of Luther, have read it, approved of it, and hope that Eck in following that elusive little wind of glory will throw away his labour" (vii., 104).

CHAPTER V

PREPARING FOR THE REFORMATION

1520–1521

IT is greatly to be regretted that so many of Zwingli's letters have perished. Several of those received by him contain directions for their immediate destruction after reading, and perhaps he may have made such a request himself in some cases; but it is improbable that the carrying out of such directions wholly accounts for the deplorable loss. The printed correspondence of 1520 and 1521, just the years when it would be particularly desirable to know Zwingli's own views and plans, consists almost entirely of answers to letters from him, mostly lost, or of letters asking him to write, or reproaching him for not writing. Still the preserved letters from and to him are valuable. They show that he was the cynosure of a brilliant circle of young men who praise to the skies, yet with apparent honesty, his learning, kindness, devotion to "preaching Christ," and his disinterested readiness to use his influence to advance the fortunes of his friends. His own letters—alas! only fifteen for these two years—occasionally touch a deeper note and bring out more of the music of the Spirit than in former years. But they do not show that his serious illness had made a turning-point in his life, as has often been imagined.

The new life of Zwingli dates rather from the death of his brother Andrew, a youth of rare promise and tenderly beloved,[1] November 18, 1520.

Several letters are to Myconius, full of brotherly sympathy with that simple-minded man in his trials for the sake of the Gospel, and helpful to him in his study of the Scriptures. Writing to Vadianus, Zwingli speaks thus of Hus's book "On the Church": "So far as I have been able to take a taste of a page here and there it seems to me to be not unlearned, but the work of a man who is somewhat ahead of his age in erudition."[2] Luther comes in for frequent mention. In Germany, Switzerland, and France he was evidently making a great sensation. His debate with Eck at Leipzig, his excommunication, his appearance at Worms, his friendly capture, are all alluded to in the correspondence.[3]

Zwingli made a visit to Basel early in 1520, and again about a year afterwards, when he met Erasmus there again.[4]

The letters also show how haphazard epistolary intercourse between individuals was in those days, being dependent upon couriers, or special mes-

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[1] See pp. 64 *sqq.*

[2] VII., 138. Rather patronising. Hus's book is now known to be a translation from Wyclif. See Loserth, English translation, *Wiclif and Hus* (London, 1884), pp. 181 *sqq.*

[3] Thus Martin Butzer writes from Worms on May 22, 1521 (vii., 174), Luther having been taken to the Wartburg on May 2, 1521: "You know, I suppose, that Luther has been captured, but unless I am very much mistaken not by his foes. The matter is admirably concealed, as is very proper."

[4] VII., 192, 195, 196. *Cf.* this book, p. 78.

sengers, or passing friends; and how in disturbed times communication well-nigh ceased. They also show that Zwingli was rapidly becoming a force to be reckoned with, for although his preaching of a common-sense Gospel was awakening opposition, it was winning friends every day. The opposition came chiefly from the inmates of the three monasteries in the city,—the Dominican, the Franciscan, and the Augustinian,—for the monks were naturally the determined foes to all change in theology and fanatically attached to what they believed to be inspired and necessary ceremonies. They had a certain measure of support, as the conservative party always has, and as they could wield the ecclesiastical machinery of the Church they were formidable, and the friends of Zwingli were alarmed for his safety. Zwingli gives this calm view of his situation in a letter to Myconius, dated December 31, 1519:

"As to that base herd of Anti-christs accusing me first of imprudence and then of impudence, you ought to hear that quietly, for now I begin not to be [the only] heretic though they meanwhile are boldly, not to say lyingly, asserting it. For I am not alone: at Zurich there are more than two thousand rational souls, who, now feeding on spiritual milk, will soon take solid food, while those others are miserably starving. As to their assertion that my doctrine (it is Christ's not mine) is of the Devil, that is all right. For in this assertion I recognise the doctrine of Christ and myself as its true herald. So the Pharisees declared that Christ had a Devil, and that they were in the right." [1]

[1] VII., 104.

And that he really was on the winning side appears from the order of the Council of the city, early in 1520, that all preachers in the canton should preach only what they could prove from the Word of God, and leave alone the doctrines and ordinances not so provable.[1] This order still more excited the monks, for it showed they could not count upon the civil power in Zurich.

In another earnest letter to Myconius, dated July 24, 1520,[2] Zwingli speaks of the hopes and fears of the Gospel. At one time there seemed every likelihood that the Gospel would flourish, so many good men and learned men were labouring to bring this about, but opposition arose. He was inclined personally to make light of these attacks. "We shall never lack those who persecute Christ in us, even though they proudly attack us in the name of Christ." The opposition was given an opportunity to show the genuineness of their zeal. "Is this not the fire that proves the character of each man's work, whether he goes into battle for the honour of this world or of Christ? . . . I believe that the Church, as it was brought forth in blood, so can be restored by blood and in no other way." Luther was the protagonist of the fight he and other friends of light and learning and Bible truth were waging.[3] Of Luther Zwingli says: "I fear very little for the life of Luther, not at all for his courage, even if the

[1] Bullinger, i., 32.

[2] VII., 142 *sqq.*

[3] Luther's condemnation by the theologians of Louvain, Cologne, and Paris comes in for mention in this correspondence (vii., 121, 129).

bolt of that Jupiter [the Bull of excommunication by the Pope] be launched against him." Then follow these specially interesting sentences, showing Zwingli's friendly footing with the hierarchy in Switzerland, and his own cheerful courage:

"Within a few days I will go to the papal Legate [Pucci], and if he shall open a conversation on the subject as he did before, I will urge him to warn the Pope not to issue an excommunication [against Luther], which I think would be greatly against him [the Pope]. For if it be issued I believe the Germans will equally despise the Pope and the excommunication.[1] But do you be of good cheer, for our day will not lack those who will teach Christ faithfully, and who will give up their lives for Him willingly, even though among men their names shall not be in good repute after this life. . . . So far as I am concerned I look for all evil from all of them: I mean both ecclesiastics and laymen. I beseech Christ for this one thing only, that He will enable me to endure all things courageously, and that He break me as a potter's vessel or make me strong, as it pleases Him. If I be excommunicated[2] I shall think of the learned and holy

[1] Unknown to Zwingli the Bull of excommunication had been issued by the Pope, Leo X., on June 15, 1520. It did not reach Switzerland until July, and Zwingli, through his influence with William à Falconibus, secretary to the papal Legate, Anthony Pucci, and with the Bishop of Constance, delayed the official deliverance in Zurich until October. It was October before it reached Wittenberg. On October 15th it was only a rumour in Mainz (vii., 148), but on December 21st the writings of Luther were burned there (vii., 157). A complete English translation of this Bull was made by Rev. Dr. H. E. Jacobs and appears in his life of Luther in this series, pp. 413–435.

[2] So this was his apprehension in consequence of his well-known support of doctrines precisely similar to Luther's and so classed as Lutheran.

Hilary, who was exiled from France to Africa,[1] and of Lucius, who though driven from his seat at Rome returned again with great honour.[2] Not that I compare myself with them: for as they were better than I so they suffered what was a greater ignominy. And yet if it were good to glory I would rejoice to suffer insult for the name of Christ. But let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. Lately I have read scarcely anything of Luther's; but what I have seen of his hitherto does not seem to me to stray from gospel teaching. You know — if you remember — that what I have always spoken of in terms of the highest commendation in him is that he supports his position with authoritative witnesses."[3]

In the conclusion of this interesting letter he tells his friend of his intention to resume the study of Hebrew,—which he had begun at Einsiedeln,—and so he had ordered from Basel the *Rudiments* of Capnio, as he styles him who is better known now as Reuchlin, the famous Humanist.[4] But he had made

[1] Bishop of Poitiers, 353–368; banished to Phrygia, 356; returned 364.

[2] Bishop of Rome, 253–254, banished almost immediately upon his election, but soon returned.

[3] Zwingli is here, as always, the critic, not the follower, of Luther, and as he came to the same positions simultaneously or perhaps previously, at all events independently, it was wrong ever to dub him with the name of Luther, and he resented it. See his remarks in his exposition of the Articles of 1523, i., 253 *sqq.*

[4] *De rudimentis Hebraicis* was printed at Reuchlin's expense by Thomas Anselm at Pforzheim, sixteen miles north-east of Carlsruhe, in 1506, and the entire edition was sold to Amerbach at the rate of three copies for one gulden. It was, however, a very slow seller. See G. H. Putnam, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1897), ii., 172.

a similar start in 1519,[1] and this time again he probably did not make much progress, for on March 25, 1522, he writes to Rhenanus: "Tell Pellican that I have begun Hebrew. Ye gods, how distasteful and melancholy a study! But I shall persist until I get something out of it."[2] Another interesting letter, in which he expresses his profound Christian faith, and shows that he had in the school of sorrow over his brother, and of anxiety over personal affairs, learned the lesson of faith and dependence on God, is that to Haller.[3]

The relations between the Pope and the Swiss was a very live topic in Zwingli's day. The Cardinal of Sitten, Ennius, Pucci, and high members of the papal party endeavoured to secure mercenaries from Zurich. Zwingli preached against the business,[4] but at first he was not heeded. At last the pitiful treatment the Zurich contingent received convinced Zurich that the Pope was not a more desirable master than any other prince, and that his battles were not a whit holier, and so in 1522 Zurich withdrew from the mercenary business altogether, and endeavoured to dissuade the other cantons from continuing in it.

The margins of Zwingli's books are covered with annotations. These have been deciphered as far as

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[1] See p. 135.

[2] VII., 194. The helps to this study were then very meagre, more so than for Greek.

[3] VII., 185.

[4] See the summary of his sermons from Bullinger in Zwingli's *Works*, ii., 2, 350–352, already translated in this volume, pp. 136–139.

possible, and the claim is made, on the strength of these decipherments, that after 1519 he adopted Lutheran views upon sin and grace.[1]

In the early part of 1521, Zwingli was sick with a fever.[2] That summer he went to Urdorf, seven and a half miles west from Zurich, then a popular resort.[3]

He was neither a member of the chapter of the cathedral nor a citizen of the Republic of Zurich until, on April 29, 1521, he succeeded Dr. Heinrich Engelhard as canon of the Great Minster, which position carried citizenship with it. Thereby he increased his income by seventy gulden, and this made up for the loss of the papal pension of fifty gulden, which he had renounced in 1520.[4] He received the hearty congratulations of his friends on his advancement. The action[5] was a proof of rare friendship on Engelhard's part.

[1] This tedious and difficult labour was performed by Usteri with great patience and skill. See Usteri, "Initia Zwinglii," in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha, 1885, 4th part, pp. 607–672; 1886, 1st part, pp. 95–159; also separately reprinted).

[2] Suppl., p. 30.

[3] VII., 181.

[4] See pp. 114 *sqq.*

[5] VII., 175, 182. The following is the text of the appointment, translated from the original Latin as given in Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, i., 22–24:

"*Appointment of the People's Priest Master Huldreich Zwingli to be Canon at the Grossmuenster in Zurich, April 29, 1521.*

"In the name of the Lord, Amen.

"In the one thousand five hundred and twenty-first year from the birth of the same Lord, and the ninth indiction, upon Monday, the twenty-ninth of April, at eight o'clock in the morning or thereabouts, in the ninth year of the pontificate of our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Leo X., by divine providence Pope, in the

So far he had not published anything. He had, however, written two political pamphlets in 1519, one on the avarice of the Pope and the cardinals, and the other a dialogue on the plague,[1] which had the approval of the learned except that it was

chapter chamber of the church of the Holy Martyrs Felix and Regula at Zurich, diocese of Constance and province of Mainz, personally appeared before me as notary public, in presence of the witnesses named below, my eminent, noble, worshipful, and wise lords, the provost and capitulary canons of the said provostship of Zurich in chapter assembled and convened, holding session and forming the party of the first part, and the worshipful gentleman Domine Huldreich Zwingli, Master of Arts, occupying the post of people's priest in the said church and provostship, party of the second part. Said Domine Master Zwingli made humble petition to the said honourable provost and chapter that they would deign faithfully before God to bestow upon him the post of canon and prebendary in their church, lying vacant at present in the hands of said honourable provost and chapter of the provostship of Zurich (through the voluntary resignation of the eminent gentleman, Master Heinrich Engelhard, Doctor of Decrees, canon and prebendary of the abbey of Zurich and legal possessor of the post of canon and prebendary aforesaid in our church). Said honourable provost and chapter therefore have, after mature deliberation, in the name of God, bestowed and conferred upon said Master Huldreich Zwingli, with all possible binding force and process of law, said post of canon and prebendary, vacant as aforesaid through voluntary resignation, together with full canonical rights and all rights and privileges thereto pertaining, and have admitted him into the post of canon and prebendary aforesaid, and received and accepted him as brother and fellow-canon, and said honourable Master Huldreich Zwingli, having solemnly sworn upon the Holy Gospel, with his hand upon the Sacred Scriptures, to observe the statute beginning 'These are the articles, etc.', read aloud to him phrase by phrase by me as notary, as also the other statutes and usages of said church of the provostship of Zurich, said honourable provost, whose function it is recognised to be to induct the canons into their office, presently gave and assigned to said Master

[1] VII., 104.

thought to be too bitter; and in 1521 he speaks of preparing for the press some sermons on faith and on saint worship.[1] In a letter to Myconius dated May 17, 1521, he thus tells of his connection with a publication:

Huldreich Zwingli a place in the chapter, and then the worshipful and wise Master George Heggentzi, custodian and senior canon of the aforesaid provostship, in the name of said honourable provost, led the same Master Zwingli into the choir, and gave and assigned to him a seat in the same with full canonical rights, thus sending, putting, and introducing the same Master Huldreich into material, real, and actual possession, as it were, of said post of canon and prebendary, and completely furnishing Master Huldreich Zwingli thus inducted with all requisite information in regard to all the fruits and revenues, returns, rights, and income of the post of canon and prebendary, observing the due and usual ceremonies and cautions, in respect to all of which as aforesaid the said honourable Master Huldreich Zwingli begged me, the undersigned notary public, to prepare for him all the necessary public documents in presence of the honourable gentlemen, Masters Caspar Mantz and Johann Murer, presbyters and chaplains of said church of the provostship of Zurich, especially invited and requested to attend the proceedings.

"I, Johann Widmer, presbyter of the diocese of Constance, chaplain of the church of the Holy Martyrs Felix and Regula in the provostship of Zurich, notary public by authority of the Holy Empire, and sworn clerk of my eminent, noble, wise, and worshipful canonical lords, the provost and chapter of the said provostship, having been present with the before named witnesses at the petition, appointment, admission, reception, acceptance, oath-taking, inducting, installation, and all and each of the aforesaid proceedings, and having seen and heard them done and accomplished as aforesaid, have, therefore, prepared this present public document, and written it with my own hand, and signed and sealed it with my regular and proper seal and name in witness, confirmation, and testimony of all above written, as requested, bidden, and specially summoned to do."

[1] VII., 187; *cf.* 189. They were never published. The latter topic he debated with Lambert in 1522. See p 170.

"The argumentative poem on The Mill (which appears on the first sheet of paper enclosed) was put into shape and sent to me by a certain Rhætian,[1] a layman who is very learned in the Scriptures, for one unacquainted with Latin. He is Martin Saenger. I indeed having examined the argument thought that what he had rather infelicitously applied to Luther was more properly applied to Christ and God. But since I had not leisure sufficient to put measures together, I turned the poem itself over to Johann Fuessli, that somewhat deaf master metal-founder, who lives in the village of Rennweg.[2] He is the man (that you may know exactly who he is) who used to stand on my left as I preached from the pulpit; and you will notice that he has used some of my own words which he has caught up and imitated (as often happens) because of his frequent listening to my discourses. He made all the measures in words indeed which some wanted to quote to carry their point that the work was mine, until I admonished the man that he should suffer the thing to be known as his own work, for there was no peril to fear from our people. Still I did this—I showed him many places in Scripture which he diligently studied, and he prepared the framework in my company. I was greatly pleased at the simplicity and clearness of his discourse, nay, he brought it about that his speech should be really Swiss, so that it was thrown off with

The seal of the notary was a shield divided diagonally from left to right, upon a short tree, the lower field black, the upper yellow, with a black lion rampant facing towards the left. Under this in two lines, between ruled lines; "Johannis Widmer presibteri de Thurego auctoritate imperiali notari publici" ([seal] "of John Widmer, presbyter of Zurich, notary public by imperial authority)".

[1] An inhabitant of the Swiss canton Grisons.

[2] This was the name given to a hamlet by Bubikon, twenty-one miles south-east of Zurich on the north shore of the Lake of Zurich.

great swiftness but needing correction. I fixed the form of it with him and the first measure, and I made the title — but besides this I did nothing."

The piece was finally published anonymously.[1]

In the latter half of 1520, at all events, as the contents show, before the coronation of Charles V., which took place on October 22nd, there appeared anonymously, and without date or place of publication, a Latin pamphlet entitled, "Advice of one who desires with his whole heart that due consideration be paid both to the dignity of the pope and to the peaceful development of the Christian religion."[2] It has an extraordinary Appendix, being nothing less than "A defence of Martin Luther by Christ our Lord, addressed to the city of Rome." Although at first sight it seems highly improbable that Zwingli had anything to do with the pamphlet, as it is not at all in his style, yet all doubt vanishes before the fact that the draft of it in Zwingli's handwriting is to be seen to-day in the Zurich cantonal archives. It treats Luther in a kindly, condescending way, and advises that an impartial commission go through his books and also examine him orally, and then pass final judgment upon him. As an alternative plan a General Council might be called. The "Defence" is a terrible arraignment of the Roman bishop in

[1] It is reprinted in Oscar Schade's *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, 2nd edition, Hanover, 1863, i., 19–26.

[2] III., 1–6; *cf.* allusion to it in his address to the German princes (iii., 78). See the discussion of its authorship by G. Finsler in *Zwingliana*, 1899, No. 2, pp. 113–115.

proof that Luther spoke only the truth about the Church.

Perhaps the subject which may be said to be that which first introduced the Reformation into Zurich was that of tithes. Zwingli declared that they were not of divine authority, and that their payment should be voluntary. But as tithes were an important part of the ecclesiastical revenue, he was striking a serious blow at the further maintenance of the cathedral. No wonder that his brother clergy were alarmed. They knew all too well that voluntary payments of tithes or of any other moneys were sure to be small. It requires long education before worshippers will voluntarily support religion. Writing to Myconius on February 16, 1520, Zwingli thus alludes to the stir his teaching had caused:

"Our provost has poured forth some venomous stuff which he has committed to permanent form so that it might be retained. He wrote a letter to me in which he said that tithes were of divine right. I had controverted this publicly, in Latin, however, not in German. Likewise he informs me that the truth is not to be spoken at all times, doubtless thinking that nothing evil ought to be said against the priests. He pleads from the market-place that I should not furnish arms to laymen to use against the clergy." [1]

The next step in the advance towards the Reformation in Zurich was the simplification of the

[1] VII., 116 *sq.* On March 17, 1520, Hedio, in Basel, promises to send him a tract by Gabriel on tithes (vii., 121, 132). Probably Gabriel Biel is meant.

breviary as used in the cathedral. This went into effect on June 27, 1520. Those of the clergy that adhered to the regular church forms and the conservative people generally were disturbed, and the Little Council, which was a very conservative body, alarmed at the radicalism which was fomented by Zwingli, passed a vaguely worded resolution against "novelties and human inventions" in preaching, which was aimed at him. A little later he again manifested his independent and reforming spirit by criticising the department of outdoor relief in the city, and proposing on September 8, 1520, that the public alms should hereafter be given only to those who had been investigated, and could show actual need. One test of the "worthiness" of the applicants for relief was their ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Ten Commandments![1]

[1] Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 132, pp. 25–31.

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION BEGINS

1522

THE year 1522 is that in which the Reformation began in Zurich.

The course of Zwingli's development to preach such an intellectual creed as that of Protestantism can be traced He came of a very intelligent family on both sides, and was so uncommonly bright as a child that the propriety of educating him was manifest. In the providence of God that education was from the start at the direction of his father's brother, who had progressive ideas; and as the same uncle kept him from the baleful influences of monasticism, he came to early manhood a cultured Humanist and not a monk or a hidebound scholastic or a fanatical ignoramus. His first charge was such an important one that he at once had to exert himself, while his scholarly ambition incited him to diligent use of every opportunity to increase his learning. As a very important factor he learned Greek, and this enabled him to go to the sources of much information which in a more or less imperfect form had been brought to his attention in Latin translation. Being a Humanist, he naturally sought the company of Humanists, and so his contempt for mediæval

teaching was increased, and under the instruction of the great prince among Humanists, Erasmus, he came to common-sense views in theology and knowledge of monastic arrogance and ignorance. Being also an ardent Swiss, he deprecated whatever tended to deteriorate the Swiss character, chief of which bad influences was the mercenary traffic, and being a bold man and believing that the pulpit was just the place to discuss public questions, especially such as had a moral bearing, he preached against the practice. This stirred up so much opposition in Glarus, which was quite a centre of the business of hiring mercenaries, that he was compelled to seek another place. Impressed on a visit with the advantages in the way of study and acquaintance of Einsiedeln, he applied for a position there, and was successful. There an ample library was at his service; there he revelled in literary and distinguished society, and there he came in touch with leaders of many lands, so that the misfortunes which drove him to seek refuge there were really fortunes of inestimable worth.

A broad-minded, highly educated, independent, thoughtful, determined man, and withal turned in the direction of ecclesiastical freedom, he came to Zurich. There he played from the beginning an important part, with increased independence. The Scriptures became of more and more account and the Fathers and the Schoolmen of less. It was but a step from the placing of the latter among fallible teachers to take the position that only what the Scriptures demanded should be demanded. But

where had the Scriptures demanded the payment of tithes, and where fasting in Lent? Where did Lent come in, anyway? So with many other ceremonies and observances of the Church. And these doubts and questions he brought to the attention of his congregation. His conduct in doing so was the subject of passionate complaint by Canon Konrad Hofmann, in December, 1521, to the chapter of the Grossmünster.[1]

Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, came in the year 1522 on the 12th of March. It was later noised through the city that some of his congregation had made application of his teaching respecting fasting during the forty days in the direction of open violation of the enjoined fast. They declared that if it was not required by Scripture, they would not fast. Such conduct quickly brought them in contact with the civil authority, which was the servant of the Church.[2] Best known of these bold innovators was Christopher Froschauer, Zurich's great printer, who ate meat with his workmen on the plea that an unusually heavy press of work compelled them to take nourishing food![3]

Zwingli did not himself offend, but he assumed

[1] See Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 213.

[2] Disputes about the matter led to street fighting, *cf.* Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 232, trials of the offenders, *ibid.*, 233.

[3] Defence of Froschauer before the City Council, Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 234. On April 27th a friend informed Zwingli that some priests at Basel ate a sucking pig on Palm Sunday (vii., 196). The incident made quite a stir, and perhaps this rather impudent exhibition of independence did more harm than good. So thought Loriti, *cf.* vii., 197.

full responsibility for this conduct of his parishioners, who had before the Council quoted him as their authority. On March 30th of that year, 1522, which was the third Sunday in Lent,[1] he preached a sermon which he published on Wednesday, April 16th, upon "Selection or Liberty respecting Foods; on Offence and Scandal; whether there is any Authority for forbidding Meat at certain Times."[2]

The Council debated the matter of fasting, and finally passed a compromise measure to the effect that while it is true that the New Testament makes no distinction among foods, yet for the sake of peace, so dear to Christ, the fasting ordinance should be obeyed until abrogated or modified by authority, and the people's priests as pastors of the three parishes of the city, namely, the Grossmünster, the Fraumünster, and St. Peter's, should dissuade the people from all violation of the ordinance.[3]

When the bruit of this revolt against ecclesiastical authority and of the temporising order of the Council reached the Bishop of Constance, he saw that it was high time to do something to restrain the wandering city. So he sent a commission to investigate. Zwingli gives in a letter to Erasmus Fabricus[4] a very graphic account of the subsequent proceedings, which is here summarised: On Monday, April 7th (1522), the commission, consisting of Melchior Wattli, D.D., the suffragan bishop; Johann

[1] See his statement, Appendix to this volume, p. 062.

[2] Given in full in the Appendix to this volume, pp. 0028 *sqq*.

[3] Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 235.

[4] III., 8–16.

Wanner, the cathedral preacher of Constance, and favourable to Reformation ideas; and Nicholas Brendlin, D.D., appeared in Zurich. Early the next day they assembled the clergy, and the suffragan laid the episcopal commands upon them not to depart from the old order. He did not mention the name of Zwingli in his address, but so plainly meant him all along as the cause of all the trouble in Zurich that Zwingli felt justified in replying on the spot, more particularly as he perceived "from their sighs and their pale and silent faces that some of the weaker priests who had recently been won for Christ had been troubled by the tirade." The commission then appeared before the Little Council, and the suffragan delivered the same address, again omitting purposely all mention of Zwingli by name. As Zwingli did not belong to the Little Council, he could not be present at their meetings without invitation, and none was given him then.

At the conclusion of the suffragan's address the Little Council voted to call a meeting the next morning of the Great Council, consisting of two hundred members, to take action on the bishop's complaint, but in the resolution it was expressly ordered that the three people's priests should be excluded. This latter action Zwingli was anxious to have reconsidered and rescinded. To this end he brought all his influence to bear with the members of the body, but in vain. He also tried to win over the commission itself. But, equally unsuccessful here, he betook himself to prayer, and lo! the next morning when the Great Council met, Wednesday, April

MARBURG CASTLE.

9th, the people in true democratic fashion demanded that their people's priests should be admitted, and the Great Council outvoted the Little Council in their favour, and so Zwingli's heart's desire was given to him, and he heard what was said against him before the Council. The suffragan a third time made his speech. This time Zwingli took notes. These were some of the points the suffragan made: Certain persons (unnamed) were teaching new obnoxious and seditious doctrines; to wit, that no human prescriptions and no ceremonials ought to be regarded, although they were a guide to virtue; also that Lent ought not to be kept. Consequently some had eaten flesh in Lent. Such conduct was evidently not permitted by the Gospels, the Fathers, nor the Councils. The antiquity of the custom of fasting during Lent was a plain proof that it was inspired by the Holy Ghost. The Council must remain with and in the Church, for outside of it was no salvation. The objectionable doctrines could not be defended, as they rested on no foundation. It was the duty of the people's priests to teach the old truths. Moreover, it was obligatory on Christians to avoid giving offence. Nor should anyone trust his own reason, but all should hear the Church.

As the commission had been charged to avoid debate, especially with Zwingli, after the suffragan had made his speech they essayed to leave. But the Swiss sense of fairness prevailed, and they were compelled to stay while Zwingli made his defence, which he did at considerable length, taking up the suffragan's speech point by point. Still even he did

not advise breaking abruptly with the Church, but, like Luther at that time, told the people to bide the time of the coming reformation.

The Council by vote reaffirmed its former injunction on the people's priests, but coupled it with a request of the Bishop of Constance to assemble his clergy and come with them to some agreement as to what might be preached in his diocese.[1]

The bishop must have been dissatisfied with the results of his commission, and so a little later he sent letters to his clergy to the cathedral chapter (May 22, 1522) and to the Zurich City Council (Saturday, May 24, 1522), urging these bodies to suppress heresy. Still Zwingli's name was not mentioned.

On Sunday, April 27th, the Swiss mercenaries were defeated at La Bicocca, near Milan, in Italy, and the news gave so much point to Zwingli's opposition to the foreign service that when the Council learned that the cantonal assembly was about to meet at Schwyz, they asked him to do his best to discourage the pensionaries who were sure to be present and try to persuade the canton to let them have more troops. So Zwingli rushed through the press a hastily written pamphlet, which bears the title, "An earnest exhortation addressed to the Confederates not to suffer themselves to come into dishonour through the wiles of their foes."[2] The

[1] Bullinger, i., 70 *sq.* Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 236. Zwingli retells the story of the commission in a letter to Myconius, undated, but certainly in June. See vii., 202 *sq.*

[2] II., 2, 286–298. It is dated May 16, 1522, which was the day

pamphlet glows with the brightest fires of patriotism and Christian zeal. In the most moving manner he pleads with his fellow-countrymen not to allow the pensionaries to persuade them that any good could come from a traffic which has been fraught with so many evils to the Swiss. He shows on Scriptural and historical grounds how a good conscience gives strength to a small people in the midst of its foes. Incidentally it presents an effective plea for peace. The first effect of the pamphlet was to capture the assembly, and the pensionaries were defeated. But in August of that year they induced the Diet to reverse its action, and Zurich for thus attempting to interfere in the Diet had henceforth no more determined foe than Schwyz.[1]

On July 1st the Bishop of Constance induced the Swiss annual Diet at Baden to pass a mandate prohibiting the preaching of the Reformation doctrines.[2]

On July 2, 1522, there was signed at Einsiedeln a very earnest "Petition of certain preachers of Switzerland to the Most Reverend Lord Hugo, Bishop of Constance, that he will not suffer himself to be persuaded to make any proclamation to the injury of the Gospel, nor longer endure the scandal of

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when the intelligence of the approaching assembly reached Zurich. There is in it no hint that the suggestion to write it came from outside; that, however, is the probable conjecture of the modern editors of Zwingli's works.

[1] Haller, on July 8, 1522 (vii., 207), writing from Bern told Zwingli that his pamphlet had a bad name in Bern and that its dedication to the Swiss exclusively was resented by the pensionaries.

[2] Bullinger, i., 79.

harlotry, but allow the priests to marry wives, or at least to wink at their marriages,"[1] and on July 13, 1522, a similar but not identical petition, entitled "A friendly request and exhortation of certain priests of the Confederacy that the preaching of the Gospel be not stopped, and that no one be offended if the priests, in order to avoid scandal, contract marriages."[2] The first was in Latin and had eleven signatures, of which Zwingli's was the last, and was addressed to the bishop; the second was in German, as printed in Zwingli's works bears no signatures (that it had signatures is, however, stated in its last paragraph), and was addressed to the government of the Confederacy. The two documents are so much alike and so much in Zwingli's style that probably he was the sole author of them both.[3] Both documents assume that the party addressed is favourable to the preaching of the Gospel, and so inclined to listen to the petitioners' plea for the removal of all hindrances to its free course. But in both petitions these words about preaching the Gospel are preliminary to what is the true object of these petitions, viz., to obtain from the bishop permission to marry, and to dissuade the government from opposing the permitted clerical marriages, if the bishop allowed them. In

[1] III., 17–25.

[2] I., 30–51.

[3] Thus on July 7, 1522, Xylotectus, writing from Bern, tells him a story for use in the "little book" he is writing on clerical marriages, in evident allusion to the German petition, and he suggests that a copy be sent to a preacher against such marriages (vii., 206), *cf.* vii., 208, quoted below. So, also, another correspondent calls him the author of the petition to the bishop (vii., 245).

both the doctrine is taught that chastity in a man cannot be preserved unless he have the supernatural gift our Lord is supposed by the petitioners to allude to in Matthew xix., 10–12! They very honestly, and with expressions of shame and penitence, confess that they have violated the law of chastity very often, but they plead in extenuation of these offences that God had not seen fit to give them the gift of continence. But as it seems to them that the fact that they live unchastely is prejudicial to the Gospel, and is the occasion of much trouble and reproach to them, they desire permission of the bishop to marry, and also protection for married priests from the State. There is not a scintilla of evidence that the priests who signed these petitions were a whit worse than the other priests about them. What they wanted was permission to contract lawful marriages. Zwingli at the time he drew up these petitions was living in "clerical" marriage, a union unsanctioned by the Church, but one so connived at and also condoned by public sentiment that the woman he was living with was called his wife.[1]

[1] See Chap. XI. for more upon this point. As the practices of these Swiss clergy so candidly revealed by these petitions were those of men who were at the time in good and regular standing in the Church, they must be considered as specimens of the results of their training, and so the less the advocates of the Roman Catholic Church have to say on the subject the better for them. It is part of the unhappy bondage of that Church that its members are debarred from criticising it freely, but are, on the other hand, obliged to defend its practices, even in denying marriage to its clergy. Roman Catholic writers like Janssen (*Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, iii., 89, 90, *note*; *An meine Kritiker*, 127–145, and *Ein zweites Wort*, 46–48) have made the

Of course, these petitions led to no action by those addressed, nor could the signers have expected to do more than to educate public sentiment so that their own contemplated marriages might be less opposed.[1] By coming out so boldly and confessing so humbly, they attested the possession of great courage. Both petitions were printed in Zurich together and sent by Zwingli to the Bishop of Constance.[2] Zwingli's correspondence shows how active he was in distributing them, apparently in part for signature, and how he viewed signing them. On July 19th he writes to Myconius:

"I send you these petitions which you know all about, but they come a week later than I could have wished. Still it could not be managed in any other way. Do you circulate them as shall be desirable, for so Jodocus

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most out of Zwingli's confession. Yes, he was unchaste. But what does that show? He was brought up in the same Church with those who criticise him. They accept his testimony regarding himself and his companions. Now let them accept this further testimony of his which is vouched for by Canon Hofmann in 1521 (*cf.* Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 213, p. 62): "Among a hundred or a thousand spiritual persons, priests, monks, nuns, Brothers and Sisters, and such like, who promise chastity and have promised to be chaste, scarcely a single one can be found who is not habitually unchaste." He put the permission of clerical unchastity by the payment of money among the Articles on which he was prepared to speak in the First Disputation (January, 1523), and on which he expatiated in print (art. 49, i., 156, commentary, i., 378, 379). Or was Zwingli truthful respecting himself but untruthful respecting others? Let Zwingli stand condemned, but let his fellow-priests equally guilty stand in the pillory with him!

[1] *Cf.* what Myconius says, p. 169.

[2] *Cf.* i., 31.

Kilchmeier[1] and I have decided. I am not able to write to Xylotectus [*i. e.*, Joannes Zimmermann] now because I am so busy. Tell him, however, that he has given no offence by withholding his name[2]: on the contrary this is in accordance with the judgment of us all. For we prefer that the affair be carried on quietly and that it should be done gradually rather than all at once, especially since there are some who fight against it so fiercely. For the sake of Christ even one's own wife will have to be abandoned, but Heaven forbid! It is better that Xylotectus in the character of Gamaliel should be able to say to the Senate: 'Separate from those men,' etc., rather than that he should be driven from the city. I have come to feel hopeful, although there is little room for persuasion among our people for rage is broad.[3]

[1] Kilchmeier's name to the petition brought him into trouble (vii., 245). He had married and to save his wife's persecution he sent her to Zurich to be under Zwingli's care (vii., 248, 249).

[2] He requested this, vii., 203. It may be remembered that a Wolfgang Zymmermann, as the name was spelled, was a signer of the petition given on p. 73 of this volume. He may have been a relative.

[3] VII., 208, 209. Myconius on July 22nd (vii., 209, 210) acknowledged the receipt of the petitions and promised to distribute them, and also ordered extra copies for Xylotectus. Under date of July 28th (vii., 210, 211) he thus speaks of the reception the petitions met with in Lucerne: "The good, who are few in number, commend your little book; others neither praise nor vituperate. I hear, however, more blame than praise. They say that you have undertaken to do a thing which you will not be able to carry through. Others, that you must think the bishop stupid since you refer to him a thing which neither he nor the pope is able to permit, but only a Council. Others mutter—but these are all priests. What the common people think I do not know. This I do know, all to a man are insane, not against you particularly, but against the Gospel. The rage of war fills everybody." The references to these petitions in his correspondence of 1522 are comparatively numerous. *Cf.* vii., 212, 213, 242, 245.

On July 17th, Zwingli had a debate with Francis Lambert of Avignon, a Franciscan monk of twenty years' standing, and prominent in the order. The subject was the Intercession of the Saints. Lambert had already imbibed Reformation ideas and was under the suspicion of his brethren, but had not yet left his order. In the debate Zwingli took the extreme Protestant position, and Lambert made but a feeble opposition. At the conclusion he expressed himself as Zwingli's convert. The incident is interesting as showing that Zwingli had broken with the Old Church on a point of great practical importance.[1]

Zwingli thus expressed himself when writing on July 30th to Rhenanus upon his debate with Lambert, and upon his subsequent victory over the monks in Zurich:

"You should know that a certain Franciscan from France, whose name indeed was Franz, was here not many days since and had much conversation with me concerning the Scriptural basis for the doctrine of the adoration of the saints and their intercession for us. He was not able to convince me with the assistance of a

[1] Francis Lambert was born in Avignon in 1486, and entered the Franciscan order there when fifteen years old. In 1522 he left his monastery by permission, ostensibly to carry letters to the general of the order. He went from Avignon to Lyons, thence to Geneva, thence to Bern, and on the recommendation of Haller came into friendly relations with Zwingli (vii., 206 207). Long previous to the debate Zwingli had preached on the topic and had meditated publishing his sermons, but he never did so. *Cf.* Haller's letter of January 28, 1522 (vii., 189), in which he said that he was daily expecting to read Zwingli's sermon on the worship of the saints.

single passage of Scripture that the saints do pray for us, as he had with a great deal of assurance boasted he should do. At last he went on to Basel,[1] where he recounted the affair in an entirely different way from the reality — in fact he lied about it. So it seemed good to me to let you know about these things that you might not be ignorant of that Cumæan lion, if perchance he should ever turn your way.

"There followed within six days another strife with our brethren the preachers of the [different orders in Zurich, especially with the Augustinians]. Finally the burgomaster and the Council appointed for them three commissioners on whom this was enjoined—that Aquinas and the rest of the doctors of that class being put aside they should base their arguments alone upon those sacred writings which are contained in the Bible. This troubled those beasts so much that one brother, the father reader of the order of Preachers [*i. e.*, the Dominicans] cut loose from us, and we wept—as one weeps when a cross-grained and rich stepmother has departed this life. Meanwhile there are those who threaten, but God will turn the evil upon His enemies.

"I suppose you have read the petition which some of us have addressed to the Bishop of Constance. . . .

[1] From Basel Lambert went to Eisenach. Early in 1523 in Wittenberg he was received by Luther and there he stayed for a year. In 1524 he is found in Metz and Strassburg. In 1526 he was invited into Hesse by the Landgrave, Philip, and there he laboured so effectively for the Reformation as to win the epithet "The Reformer of Hesse." In theology he was a Zwinglian. In 1527 he became professor of theology in the newly founded University of Marburg, and died of the plague in that place on April 18, 1530. See his biography by F. W. Hassencamp, in vol. ix. of *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformirten Kirche*, Elberfeld, 1861 ; and by Louis Ruffet, Paris, 1873.

But I must return to Schuerer upstairs, where he is having some beer with several gentlemen and jokes will be in order." [1]

Another step which showed advance in spiritual freedom in Zurich was permission to the secular clergy to preach in the nunneries [2]; where previously only Dominican monks had preached; and a still more decided one was the unanimous resolution of the Zurich clergy, on August 15th, not to preach anything which was not in the Bible.[3]

On August 22, 1522, Zwingli signed the preface to the first considerable writing he ever issued, his defence against the bishop's charges. It was entitled *Archeteles*,[4] "the beginning and the end," because he meant to do the thing once for all. He had no desire to keep up a running fight, but rather by one blow to win his spiritual freedom. It is written in Latin, which, of course, curtailed its usefulness. In an unsparing manner he exposes the unbiblical and anti-biblical nature of the exclusive claims and post-New Testament doctrines and practices of the Western Church. He sent a copy to Erasmus, who wrote this characteristic acknowledgment [5]:

"I have read some pages of your apology [*Archeteles*]. I beseech you for the sake of the glory of the Gospel, which I know you would favour and which we all who bear the name of Christ ought to favour, if you should

[1] Suppl., 31, 32.
[2] Bullinger, i., 77. *Cf.* pp. 173, 176 of this vol.
[3] I., 30.
[4] III., 26–76.
[5] VII., 222, 223 (September 8, 1522).

issue anything hereafter, treat so serious a matter seriously, and bear in mind evangelical modesty and patience. Consult your learned friends before you issue anything. I fear that that apology will cause you great peril and will injure the Gospel. Even in the few pages that I have read there are many things I wanted to warn you about. I do not doubt that your prudence will take this in good part, for I have written late at night with a mind that is most solicitous for you. Farewell."

Zwingli availed himself of the permission to preach in the nunneries, and afterwards issued two sermons thus originally delivered.[1] The first, dated September 6, 1522, is upon the Bible, and has for its thesis that only the Holy Spirit is requisite to make the Word intelligible; no Church, no Council, much more no Pope is needed.[2]

The second sermon was on "The Perpetual Virginity of Mary the Mother of Jesus Christ our Saviour,"[3] which thesis Zwingli maintained, and thus adds his name to the honoured roll of Protestants who believe that Mary not only never had a second child, but remained an uncorrupted maid. He dedicated the sermon to his brothers who lived at Wildhaus, and published it September 17, 1522.

[1] Allusions to these sermons occur in his correspondence of this year. Other allusions in correspondence, vii., 243, 246.

[2] "On the Perspicuity and Certainty, or Infallibility, of the Word of God" (i., 52–82). Stapfer praises it (vii., 234). In *Schriftdeutsch* by R. Christoffel, Zurich, 1843. The original hearers were Augustinian nuns of the Oetenbach convent in Zurich. A second edition of the sermon appeared in 1524, but judging from the preface to it Zwingli made small impression on the nuns.

[3] I., 83–104.

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He denies the doctrine of Mary's intercession, but holds her up for imitation in purity, innocence, and faith.[1] Under date of November 11, 1522, from Bern, Sebastian Meyer acknowledged the receipt of his sermon on the "Choice of Foods," his petition relative to the marriage of the clergy, and his *Archeteles*, and sent him a copy of the Bishop of Constance's pastoral letter, along with a commentary upon it, and requested Zwingli to edit it for the press. This request he probably acceded to. At all events, it appeared, but as there was considerable danger incurred by such publication, the place of publication was given as Hohenstein.[2]

The revolt against episcopal authority and ecclesiastical usages spread not only through the canton of Zurich, but into the neighbouring cantons. To be sure, the new doctrines were called "Lutheran,"[3] but then, they were accepted.

In September, 1522, Zwingli went down to Einsiedeln to preach during the Angelic Dedication.[4] He embraced the opportunity to preach the doctrines of faith in Christ and of the supremacy of the Scriptures as the only infallible source of religious knowledge, which he had arrived at independently of Luther, and thus secure a dissemination of such doctrines all over Switzerland and Germany.[5]

On January 9, 1522, Adrian VI., the Dutch

[1] Allusions to it in his correspondence of this year, vii., 244, 246.

[2] VII., 242 *sqq*.

[3] VII., 217, 226, 231.

[4] See pp. 99 *sqq*.

[5] Bullinger (i., 81) conjectures that he preached on the topics of his published sermons of the year, but this is mere guessing.

Pope, entered on his office. Known to him was the independent stand taken by Zurich, but shrewdly and kindly, for Adrian was a good man, he wrote to the Zurich authorities a pleasant letter, in which he expressed no blame, but on the contrary promised to pay the debt the papal treasury owed Zurich, when in funds. Well were it if it had been, for the money was not forthcoming, and the fact embittered the people against the papacy.

On November 11, 1522, Sebastian Meyer reports from Bern that Zwingli had been forbidden to preach by the Zurich Senate.[1] This was the shape in which the action of Zwingli in sacrificing his people's priestship on November 9th reached Bern. The resignation was made publicly from the pulpit on the ground that he could no longer discharge some of the duties connected with the office, as they were against his conscience.[2] The Senate allowed him to resign and someone else was chosen, at the same time it requested him to continue to preach. As it acted entirely without consultation with the bishop, it was a more pronounced act of independence than any yet ventured on. But more was to come; for next the Senate forbade pensions and mercenaries,[3] and refused to give up to the bishop two pastors of evangelical opinions.[4] It introduced regulations for the better instruction of the children in religion.

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[1] VII., 244.

[2] Egli, *A. S.* (*i. e.*, *Actensammlung*, this contraction will be for convenience used hereafter), No. 290.

[3] *Ibid.*, 259, 293.

[4] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 270.

At the same time the Senate punished those who treated with ridicule the old order, and even Froschauer for putting on sale some satires on the hierarchy which he had brought from the Frankfort Fair.[1] When some nuns, who pleaded that their vows were contrary to the Word, requested permission to leave the convent, the Senate ordered that they should stay till next spring and await the contemplated reform. It took the convents out of the exclusive confessional control of the Dominicans and allowed the nuns to choose for their confessors whom they would.[2]

A friend, writing from Ravensburg, in Wurtemberg, twenty-two miles east-north-east of Constance, had informed Zwingli, under date of November 2, 1522,[3] that at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg that year it was declared that the Pope had four plans in hand: "peace between Cæsar and Pompey [*i. e.*, between the Emperor and the King of France]; the annihilation of the cause of Luther; the reform of the Church; and a war against the Turks." This was the occasion of Zwingli's Latin pamphlet, hastily written as usual,[4] entitled: "A suggestion of the

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[1] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 284.

[2] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 291, 298, 301.

[3] VII., 241.

[4] Zwingli, writing to Myconius on August 26, 1522, thus candidly describes his literary methods: "I am rough and impatient of the time necessary for condensing and polishing. You know that my mind is felicitous in nothing except invention, if indeed that is not the greatest infelicity which is either not willing or not able to adorn and polish and so render worthy of immortality what one has done in the way of invention. Yet when I imagine I have studied

advisability of reflecting upon the proposal made by Pope Adrian to the princes of Germany at Nuremberg; written by one who has deeply at heart the welfare of the Republic of Christ in general and of Germany in particular." [1] It is characterised by Zwingli's qualities of clear-mindedness, candour, modesty, and Christian zeal. It contains several skilful quotations of Scripture. It expresses great scepticism as to the reality of the alleged papal schemes except the crushing of Luther; and against that it utters an emphatic protest. No reformation could come from Rome.

On December 4, 1522, Jodocus Kilchmeier sends for confirmation of the report that Zwingli had narrowly escaped death at the hands of two monks.[2]

On the Saturday before St. Thomas's day, which is December 21st, and which in this year, 1522, fell upon Sunday, Zwingli preached an earnest sermon against pensions, which had the immediate effect that all those of the cathedral clergy who had pensions from the Pope or other potentate renounced them before the burgomaster.[3] The bruit of the religious revolt in Germany reached Zurich, and excited the liveliest interest. The writings of Luther were in great demand, and Zwingli did his best to

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enough, a disgust at my own performance presently seizes me, and I feel such a loathing for what I have thus far written that reviewing it is likely to produce nausea." (VII., 218, 219.) *Cf.* his remarks to Vadian upon the extreme haste with which he rushed his books through the press. (VII., 333).

[1] III., 77–82.

[2] VII., 249.

[3] Bullinger, i., 83.

circulate them. Thus there was gradually built up a strong party in favour of reform. In it were to be reckoned many members of the City Council. Under the circumstances great pressure was brought to bear upon the Council to take some more decided position upon the subject of ecclesiastical reform.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION DEFENDED

1523

ON December 10, 1522, Oecolampadius of Basel wrote to Zwingli a very friendly letter in which he expressed an even extravagant admiration of Zwingli, based entirely upon report, as he had never met him.[1] This was the beginning of a frequent and intimate correspondence, for the two became true yoke-fellows in the cause of the Reformation. Though living in different cities their relation bears a resemblance to that between Luther and Melanchthon — in that Oecolampadius was Zwingli's wise counsellor and efficient coadjutor, yet distinctly of secondary importance. The first letter of Zwingli's preserved, of the year 1523, is to Oecolampadius.[2] It is dated January 14th. He disclaims the latter's praise, and with equal warmth commends his correspondent's learning, piety, and zeal. To him he announces the "contest" which the Council had decreed, and rumour had it that John Faber, vicar-general of Constance, would be present. Then sarcastically he adds: "May God bring it about that he be not held back, so that

[1] VII., 251, 252.
[2] VII., 261.

Rome and Constance may not be defrauded of their accustomed triumphs . . . such as up to the present they have been able to carry off."

The "contest" is known in history as the first of the two religious disputations, which openly placed Zurich on the side of the Reformation, the second being held in October of the same year, 1523. The invitation to the first disputation was as follows:

"We, the Burgomaster, Council and the Great Council, as the Two Hundred of the city of Zurich are called, send to all and every people's priest, pastor, curate, and preacher having parish and dwelling in our cities, country, dominion, upper and lower jurisdiction and territory, our salutation, favourable and gracious disposition, and would have you to wit: Since now for a long time much dissension and disagreement have existed among those preaching the Gospel to the common people, some believing that they have truly and completely delivered the gospel message, others reproving them as if they had not done it skilfully and properly. Consequently the latter call the former errorists, traitors, and even heretics, although they, desiring to do the best thing, and for the sake of the honour of God, peace and Christian unity, offer to give to everyone desiring it account and proof of their doctrines out of Holy Scriptures. So this is our command, will, and desire: That ye pastors, curates, preachers, as a body and individually, if any especial priests desire to speak about this, having benefices in our city of Zurich, or otherwheres in our territory, or if any desire to reprove the other side, or otherwise to instruct them, appear before us on the day after Emperor Charles's day, that is the nine and twentieth day of the month of January, at early Council

time, in our city of Zurich and particularly in our Council House, and that those contending should do so, using the truly Divine Word in the German tongue and speech. There we with all diligence, with some scholars, if it seems good to us, will give attention, and, according to what shall prove itself to be consonant with Holy Scripture and truth, we shall send each and every one of you home with the command to continue or to abstain; so that from henceforth each one may not preach from the pulpit what seems to him good, without foundation in the true Holy Scripture. We shall also announce the same to our gracious lord [the Bishop] of Constance, so that his Grace or his representative, if he so desire, may also be present. But if anyone be contrarious and bring not in proof from the true, Holy Scripture with him we shall proceed further according to our knowledge, in a way from which we would gladly be relieved. We are also of good hope in Almighty God that those earnestly seeking the light of truth He will so graciously illuminate with the same, that we may walk in the light as children of the light.

"Given and officially stamped with our secret seal, Saturday after the Circumcision of Christ [January 3] and after His birth in the three and twentieth year of the lesser reckoning." [1]

Before the time came, Pope Adrian VI. addressed to Zwingli the following letter:

"Adrian, Pope, the sixth [of the name], to his dear son salutations and the Apostolical benediction: We send the venerable brother Ennius, Bishop of Verulam, our domestic prelate and Nuncio of the Apostolic See, a

[1] I., 115, 116; Egli, *A. S.*, No. 318.

man distinguished for prudence and fidelity, to that unconquerable nation most completely linked unto us and to the Holy See, in order that he may treat with it respecting things of the highest importance to us and the Holy See, and to the entire Christian commonwealth. Although he is enjoined to conduct our affairs with your nation openly and in public, yet because we have a certain knowledge of your distinguished merits and especially love and prize your loyalty, and also place particular confidence in your honesty, we have commissioned this Bishop, our Nuncio, to hand over to you in private our letter, and declare our best intentions toward you. We exhort your devotion in the Lord, and that you have all confidence in Him, and with the same disposition, in which we are inclined to remember your honour and profit, to bestir yourself also in our affairs and in those of the Apostolic See. For which you will earn no small thanks from us.

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, January 23, 1523, of our pontificate the first year." [1]

Oecolampadius, in his letters to Zwingli of January 17, 1523, and January 21st, expresses displeasure at the approaching disputation, on general grounds, and gently warns him against losing his temper and carrying on a dispute instead of a discussion.[2]

Glareanus wanted to come, however, but was unable to.[3]

[1] VII., 266, 267. Zwingli informed Wyttenbach (June 23, 1523, vii., 300) that he told the bearer of the letter to his face that the Pope was Antichrist.

[2] VII., 262, 265.

[3] VII., 264. It appears from this letter that Zwingli had erroneously written that the debate would be on January 20.

In preparation for the event, and to give direction to the speeches, Zwingli published on January 19th sixty-seven Articles in German which really sum up his teaching.[1] Some of the Articles literally translated are these: 1. All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the confirmation of the Church err and reflect on God. 11. Therefore we see that the spiritual (so-called) ordinances relative to show, riches, orders, titles, and laws are a cause of all folly, as they do not agree with the Head [Christ]. 17 (Of the Pope). That Christ is the only eternal high-priest, therefore it follows that those who have given themselves out as high-priests resist, yea, reject the honour and authority of Christ. 18 (Of the Mass). That Christ, who has once offered Himself, is to all eternity the perpetual and redeeming sacrifice for the sins of all believers; therefore it follows that the Mass is not a sacrifice, only the commemoration of the sacrifice and the assurance of the redemption which Christ has shown us. 19 (Intercession of the Saints). That Christ is the sole mediator between God and us. 20. That God will give us all things in His name. Consequently it follows that we do not need any other mediator than He outside of this life. 21. That when we pray for one another we do so in a way to show that all things will be given us through Christ alone. 24 (Food

[1] These Articles are given in full in the original Swiss-German, in i., 153–157; by Schaff, in his *Creeds of Christendom*, iii., 197–207, in a modern German translation side by side with a free Latin translation; he gives a free English translation of twenty-six of the Articles in his *History of the Christian Church*, vii., 52, 53.

Prohibition). That every Christian is not bound to do what God has not commanded, so he may at any time eat any sort of food; therefore it follows that the cheese and butter dispensations[1] are Roman impositions. 28 (Marriage of the Clergy). That all which God allows or has not forbidden is right; therefore it follows that marriage is proper for all. 30 (Vows of Chastity). That those who take vows of chastity foolishly or childishly assume too much; therefore it follows that those who take such vows do wrong to pious people.[2] 34 (Of the Hierarchy). The so-called spiritual power has no ground for its pomp in the teachings of Christ. 35 (Secular Power from God). But the secular has authority and confirmation in the teaching and example of Christ. 36. All that the so-called spiritual order claims to belong to it of right and for the protection of the right belongs to the secular arm when it is Christian. 37. To it all Christians without exception owe obedience; (38) so far as it does not order what is contrary to God. 49 (Of Scandal). I do not know of any greater scandal than that the priests should not be allowed wives, but should be allowed concubines by paying money for the privilege. Out upon the shameful business! 57 (Of Purgatory). The true Holy Scriptures know nothing of a purgatory after this life. 58. The judgment passed upon the dead is known only to God. 59. And the less God has let us know about it, so much the less should we

[1] Issued by the ecclesiastical authorities allowing these articles to be eaten during Lent by those receiving them.

[2] By implying that only celibates are chaste.

assume to know. 60. If anyone concerned for the dead calls on God to show them mercy, I do not consider that so objectionable; but to set a time for the punishment (seven years for a mortal sin), and for the sake of gaining your end lie about it, is not human,[1] it is devilish. 66. All spiritual superiors should immediately humble themselves and exalt alone the cross of Christ, not the money-chest, or they will perish, for I say to you: the axe is at the tree. 67. If anyone wants to talk with me about taxes, tithes, unbaptised children, confirmation, I am perfectly willing to answer his questions.

On January 26th Glareanus wrote to him from Basel that when a Doctor Gebweiler, who had once been elected rector of the university there, was asked if the university intended to send a representative to the Zurich disputation, he replied: "Only knaves are going to Zurich, and Zwingli is a knave too, and preaches heresy." Glareanus also informed him that neither Fabri[2] nor Eck was ready in the German language; they did better in Latin.[3]

On the eventful day, Thursday, January 29, 1523, above six hundred persons assembled in the morning in the Town Hall. As representative of the bishop were the episcopal major-domo, Fritz von Anwyl, the vicar-general, Fabri (or Faber), and Doctor Heyerhansen (Vergenhans). With them were Doctor Martin Blansch of Tuebingen, and other scholars and prominent persons outside the diocese. The entire

[1] *I. e.*, is not a simple, human weakness.

[2] Both forms Fabri and Faber were in use,

[3] VII., 267, 268.

clergy of the canton were present, besides large numbers of the laity of all ranks. The Diet of the Confederation had been asked while in session at Baden to send a deputation, but had paid no attention to the request.

The burgomaster presided, and stated the object of the meeting in these words:

"Very learned, venerable, noble, steadfast, honourable, wise, ecclesiastical lords and friends: In my lords' city of Zurich and in its territories there has risen for some time discord and strife on account of the sermons and doctrine given to the people from the pulpit by our preacher here in Zurich, Master Ulrich Zwingli. Wherefore he has been reproached and spoken against by some as a false guide, by others as a heretic. So it has come about that not alone in our city of Zurich but in the country under the authority of my lords such discord among the priests, also among the laity, increases, and daily come complaints to my lords about it, until it seems that there is no end to such angry words and quarrelling. On this account Master Ulrich Zwingli has offered often from the public pulpit to give before everybody the rationale and ground of his preaching and doctrine delivered here in Zurich in an open disputation before numerous clergy and laity. The honourable Council has granted this request of Master Ulrich with a view to stop the great unrest and disputing, has allowed him to hold a public disputation in the German language before the Great Council of Zurich, as the Two Hundred are called, to which the honourable wise Council has invited all the people's priests and curates of the canton; also solicited the venerable lord and prince, etc., Bishop of Constance; on which his Grace has kindly sent the

THE GREAT COUNCIL'S HALL AT ZURICH, WHERE THE RELIGIOUS DISPUTATIONS OF JAN. 29 AND OCT. 26, 1523, WERE HELD.

deputation here present, for which the honourable Council of Zurich expresses especial great thanks. Therefore, if anyone now present has any displeasure or doubts over the preaching and doctrines of Master Ulrich here has given from the pulpit, or knows to speak about the matter, as that such preaching and doctrine were and must be not correct but seditious or heretical, let him here before my lords convict the oft-mentioned Master Ulrich of untruthfulness, and in this presence here confute his error by Holy Scripture freely, boldly, and without fear of punishment, so that my lords may be spared hereafter daily complaints, whence originate discord and disunity. For my lords are tired of such complaints, which tend to increase constantly from the clergy and laity alike."

The meeting was then declared open for discussion. But it was quickly evident that on the episcopal side there was no desire for the disputation. The majordomo of the Bishop promptly disclaimed all intention of debating anything. The delegation was there merely to find out why there was so much difference of opinion on religion in the canton, and on proper complaint to do their best to heal the differences. This disclaimer must have thrown a damper on the assembly, but Zwingli, not to be entirely balked, held forth at some length upon the impropriety of calling him a heretic, and announced that he was there to defend his doctrine against all comers, and had frequently offered to do so previously, even in Constance itself, provided he had a safe conduct. After this opening Johann Fabri, the vicar-general of Constance, and a friend of Zwingli, entered the lists, and almost the entire morning was consumed

between them. Fabri was much more courteous and polished in his addresses than Zwingli, who had a good deal of the rough and ready about him. Fabri began by claiming to be a friend of the Gospel preaching, indeed to be a Gospel preacher himself, but he contended that the time to discuss their religious differences was at the general council which the Diet of Nuremberg had just decided to call a year hence. Further, the real judges of such disputes were the universities, as Paris, Cologne, or Louvain. "Why not Erfurt or Wittenberg?" Zwingli suggested. At this all laughed. "No," said Fabri, "Luther is too near there, and then all evils come from the North." Zwingli in reply made three points: 1. The question before them was simply whether God's law demanded the observance of certain customs, not how old they were or who required them. 2. For purposes of deciding such questions no general council was necessary, the assembly then met was competent. Nor would the Bible be the arbiter in any such council. 3. The universities need not be appealed to. The Word of God was the infallible and impartial judge. And besides there were good scholars in the Word and in canon law there present.

After Zwingli's speech there was a pause. Then the burgomaster urged, and then Zwingli urged all those who had anything to say against the doctrine taught by him to say it and disprove his teachings out of the Scriptures. A priest, after another awkward pause, spoke upon the arrest of Urban Wyss, pastor of Fislisbach, a village of Baden, on the border of

Switzerland, by the Bishop of Constance because he had disobeyed the Bishop's mandate relative to the maintenance of the Old Church teaching, and asked what those should do who like himself wished to preach the pure Gospel. This gave occasion to a genuine discussion in which Fabri and Zwingli bore the chief parts. The former was the defender of the Old Church and declared that from the Scriptures he had at Constance convinced Wyss of his errors, and that Wyss had renounced them and would therefore be soon released. He and Zwingli discussed many of the points in dispute, such as the intercession of the saints, clerical celibacy, and the authority of the Church; but though urged by Zwingli and others Fabri refused to give at length the Scripture proofs he had so successfully used, as he claimed, with the alleged heretic. But very few participated in the debate, for the audience, while friendly to the Reformed party, was there to hear, not to participate. Dinner-time, which was 11 A.M., having come, and the audience being tired of sitting, was about to be dismissed when up sprang a canon, one of those individuals who like to call attention to themselves in such assemblies, and tried to induce Zwingli to discuss some matters which properly belonged to the chapter meetings. He was with difficulty suppressed, and then the audience dispersed to their abodes.

In the afternoon they came together again. The burgomaster then read a paper which the Council had just drawn up in the recess. It was an emphatic approval of Zwingli's doctrines, and a request that

all preachers in the canton should present them. It ran thus:

"WHEREAS, ye now in the name of the Lord and upon the command of the burgomaster, Council, and Great Council of the city of Zurich, and for the reasons comprehended in the letters already sent you, as obedient persons have appeared, etc., and whereas again a year has elapsed since an honourable embassy of our gracious lord of Constance appeared here in the city of Zurich before the burgomaster, the Little and the Great Council, on account of such things as you have heard to-day, and when all things had now been discussed in various fashions it was reported: that our gracious lord of Constance was about to call together the learned in his bishopric, along with the preachers in the adjoining bishoprics and prelacies, to advise, assist, and with them to confer, so that a unanimous decision might be reached and everyone would know how to conduct himself; but since up to this time, perhaps for noteworthy reasons, nothing special has been done in the matter by our gracious lord of Constance, and since the dissension among the clergy and the laity continually increases, therefore once more the burgomaster, Council, and Great Council of the city of Zurich in the name of God, for the sake of peace and Christian unity, have fixed this day, and, countenanced by the honourable delegation of our gracious lord of Constance (for which they give their gracious, exalted, and diligent thanks), have also for this purpose by means of open letters, as stated above, written, called, and sent for all people's priests, preachers, curates, collectively and singly, out of all their counties into this city, in order that in the examination they might confront with each other those mutually accusing each other of being heretics.

"And whereas Master Ulrich Zwingli, canon and preacher in the Great Minster in the city of Zurich, has formerly been much calumniated and accused on account of his doctrine, yet no one has raised himself against him consequent upon his declaring and explaining his Articles, or has disproved them on the ground of Holy Scripture; whereas he has several times challenged those who have accused him of being a heretic to step forward and no man has proved any sort of heresy in his doctrine; therefore the aforesaid burgomaster, Council, and Great Council of the city of Zurich, in order to put an end to disturbance and dissension, have upon due deliberation and consultation decided, resolved, and it is their earnest opinion, that Master Zwingli continue and keep on as before to proclaim the Holy Gospel and the pure Holy Scripture with the Holy Spirit, in accordance with his capabilities, so long and as frequently as he will until something better is made known to him.

"Furthermore, all your people's priests, curates, and preachers in your cities and canton and dependencies, shall undertake and preach nothing but what can be proved by the Holy Gospel and the pure Holy Scriptures: furthermore, they shall in no wise for the future slander, call each other heretic, or insult in such manner.

"Whoever, however, appears contrarious and not sufficiently obedient, the same will be put under such restraint, that they must see and discover that they have committed wrong.

"Given on Thursday after Charles's day, in the city of Zurich, upon the 29th day of January in the year MDXXIII."

Zwingli's strong point was in asking for Scripture proof that he was wrong; yet Fabri offered to refute

him orally or in writing and on biblical grounds. Zwingli expressed great eagerness to have him do it.

The deliverance was a great victory for Zwingli, and he gave public thanks to God for it.

Fabri then announced that he had just got a copy of Zwingli's printed Articles, and that he particularly objected to Zwingli's denial of the propriety of Church ceremonies, *i. e.*, the things and the doings which exalt the Church worship, and that he would prove their propriety. "Good," said Zwingli, "we shall be glad to hear you." Fabri had made a rather poor show in the morning, but now he was primed, and the debate with Zwingli was much livelier and better in hand. He made a home thrust when he slyly asked Zwingli if the Council were not the judge between them. Zwingli, however, was not to be caught making any such concession, although that was the position the Council itself had taken. So at the risk of giving offence, he boldly maintained that Holy Scripture was the judge. Fabri's thrust did not penetrate his armour.

At length the long debate was over, and as the crowd separated the burgomaster was heard to say: "That sword which pierced the pastor of Fislisbach, now a prisoner at Constance, has got stuck in its scabbard"; while the abbot of Cappel remarked: "Where were those who wanted to burn us, and had the wood piled at the stake? Why did they not show themselves?"[1]

[1] The above account of the disputation is based directly upon the account given by Erhard Hegenwald and printed at Zurich. The

On February 4, 1523, Glareanus wrote to Zwingli congratulating him upon the success of the disputation and giving him the sequel of the railing of Doctor Gebweiler; how it had brought him into investigation by the acting bishop and into disfavour with the City Council, which, however, had previously

preface is dated March 3, 1523. It states that the occasion of the publication is the appearance of false accounts of the disputation; that he was present and wrote out the speech in his inn immediately after the disputation, and inquired of others whenever things were not clear to his own mind. It is possible, perhaps rather probable, that Zwingli "edited" it. But there is no proof that he did, or that he altered the reports of his speeches for the better. For collocations and other editions see Finsler's *Zwingli-Bibliographie* (Zurich, 1897), pp. 77, 78. My copy is the original. It is represented in the Schuler and Schulthess edition of Zwingli's works, i., 114–153. Five editions of the original were printed and widely distributed, and it was reprinted at Leipzig and Augsburg. Fabri considered that it put him in a bad light, although Hegenwald strove to be impartial. So he must needs get out his own account of the disputation, which he styles "Trustworthy information as to what took place in Zurich on January 23d." In his preface he remarks that the Bishop's deputation had not gone to Zurich to debate at all, but he had publicly offered during the disputation to debate in writing with Zwingli on condition that the papers were submitted to a judge for decision. Hegenwald had suppressed this offer; and had so reported the speeches, that while those by Zwingli were improved, those by the opposite side were made to sound childish. Fabri's book appeared March 10. It stirred the ire of seven young Zurichers, who brought out on September 1st a travesty of Fabri's volume, entitled "Das gyren rupffen. Halt inn wie Johans Schmid Vicarge ze Costentz mit dem büchle darinn er verheisst ein warē bericht wie es vff den. 29. tag Jenners. M.D.XXIII. ze Zürich gangen sye sich übersehē hat. Ist voll schimpffs vund ernstes"—("The Vulture Plucked. It contains what John Schmidt, vicar-general of Constance, has omitted to state in his book wherein he promises to give a true account of what took place upon January 29, 1523, at Zurich. It is full of things gay and grave,") a title which sufficiently indicates the book. Bullin-

acted against him. He repeats the commonplace slander of Zwingli's relations with an honest wife.[1]

From the letter of Glareanus dated February 14, 1523, it appears that Zwingli had complained to the Council regarding Gebweiler's slanders, and the Council had asked the Basel Council to take action. The upshot was that Gebweiler apologised, and so the affair ended.[2] This backing from his political superiors was of the greatest value and protection to Zwingli, and also was evidence of his shrewdness in calling upon the Council to decide whether he were a heretic. Having declared him innocent, they were bound to see him through.

Fabri, indeed, boasted of victory, but Zwingli resented his action,[3] and had really more substantial results to show. Henceforth he moved much more securely, as he knew that the City Council and most of the clergy and laity of the city and canton were at all events not inclined to oppose him.

In accordance with the new regulations respecting the cloisters,[4] Leo Jud on March 7th succeeded the Dominicans as preacher in the aristocratic nunnery

ger tells the story and gives the names of the authors (i., 108). Fabri complained of it to the Zurich Council, November 16, 1523, and emphatically denied that he merited so gross and personal an attack. He asks the Council to inform him whether the book appeared with their knowledge, and who were the authors. What the answer of the Council was is unknown. See letter in Strickler, *Actensammlung*, i., No. 703. The contemporary Roman Catholic historian, Johannes Salat, gives in his chronicle an account of the disputation, plainly taken from Hegenwald, but somewhat coloured. See his Chronicle in *Archiv für die Schweizerische Reformations Geschichte*, i., 42–53.

[1] VII., 270, 271. [2] VII., 273 *sq.*
[3] VII., 276, 277. [4] See p. 172.

of Oetenbach[1]; and many of the nuns re-entered the world, taking with them the property they had brought into it. In the summer some nuns were bold enough to marry. These radical changes were not effected without opposition.[2]

On February 24th, Zwingli wrote a letter to Urban Wyss, the alleged heretic already mentioned, imprisoned by the order of the Bishop of Constance, urging him to stand firm in the Gospel, but not expressing much confidence that he would.[3] In February, Zwingli was hanged in effigy at Luzern, but he took the insult as a favour.[4] Ash Wednesday came that year on February 18th. No change from the usual food prohibition was made, except that the Council accepted the plea of necessity.[5] After Lent, on Tuesday, April 28th, occurred a memorable event — the first real clerical marriage in Zurich. So-called clerical marriages which were only uncomplained of, but none the less reprehensible, concubinages were and had long been common — in such a relation Zwingli himself lived for two years — but for a priest or religious to marry was unheard of. William Röubli was the first to do the deed. His example was followed on Wednesday, June 24th, by the chaplain of the Great Minster, Zwingli's church, and indeed in that cathedral and with an ex-nun of Oetenbach. Zwingli's dear friend, Leo Jud, who early in the year became people's

[1] In the present city of Zurich. The building is now an orphanage. The other nunnery of Selnau is now also in the city limits and used as a prison.

[2] Bullinger, i., 110; *cf.* vii., 279.

[3] VII., 277. [4] VII., 278. [5] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 339.

priest of St. Peter's, married on September 19th. Such marriages were henceforth common.[1] Some time in March Zwingli received two touching letters from monks in the Carthusian Monastery of Ittingen, twenty-five miles north-east of Zurich, near Frauenfeld, asking his advice and consolation.[2]

On July 10th, the Bishop of Constance issued a long letter in Latin to the clergy of his diocese upon the religious troubles. It shows considerable Scripture knowledge, and is dignified and proper.[3] At the close the notorious difficulty in those days of sending notifications to scattered individuals led to the request to have copies of the imperial edict on the subject, which accompanied the Bishop's letter, made and distributed. But the Council sent both communications back unopened![4]

As was to be expected, Zwingli prepared an elaborate commentary on the Articles he had drawn up for use in the disputation. He began immediately after it was over, and on February 19th states that he was working on it "night and day; do you therefore pray to our common Christ that He may never suffer me to slip. For it will be a sort of farrago of the opinions which are to-day under debate. I will write in German, for the Articles have appeared in that tongue."[5] His friends awaited it

[1] Bullinger gives (i., 108 *sq.*) quite a list of these clerical Benedicts. The connection between a priest leaving the Roman Church and his marriage is generally close.

[2] VII., 282–285.

[3] Strickler, *Actensammlung*, i., 219–222.

[4] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 386.

[5] VII., 275.

eagerly.[1] June came and found him amid many distractions still toiling at his task.[2] At length on Tuesday, July 14th, he signed the dedication — to his old congregation at Glarus — and so finished his volume which bears the title: "Exposition and Proof of the Conclusions or Articles."[3] It was written for the people, and admirably served its purpose. It is clear in language, though discursive in style, and goes over the ground covered in the Articles. It is full of personal allusions.[3] It contains Zwingli's first printed assertion of his relation to Luther. He repudiates the term "Lutheran" as applied to him and his teaching, and asserts his entire independence of Luther, although they agree on many points.[4] He confesses his great debt to Erasmus.[5]

With this volume Zwingli made good his claim to a knowledge of the Reformation principles and to be the Reformation leader of the Swiss and South Germans, who henceforth rallied around him and not around the Saxon Reformer. For good or ill from thence on Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland, took his stand on an equal level beside the Hero of the Reformation. No sooner had he finished his "Exposition" but he brought out a tractate of less dimensions indeed, but of equal practical value. It was designed to head off the very excesses in the direction of false liberty which later were attributed to the Anabaptist movement and

[1] VII., 288, 294.

[2] VII., 300.

[3] I., 169–424; also in modern German by Christoffel and separately published, Zurich, 1844.

[4] I., 256, and elsewhere.

[5] I., 298.

led to its bloody suppression. The tractate appeared on July 30th, and was in form an expanded sermon on "Divine and Human Righteousness,"[1] which he had preached on St. John Baptist's day (June 24th). The gist of it is thus stated in the preface:

"The Gospel of Christ is not hostile to rulers, nor does it occasion any disturbance to temporal affairs, rather it confirms the authority of rulers, instructs them in the right performance of their duties and how to be in harmony with the people, if they act in a Christian manner according to the divine precepts."[2]

[1] I., 425–458. Translated into modern German by Christoffel, Zurich, 1845.

[2] I., 428.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION ESTABLISHED

1523–1525

DURING the two years from the uprising of 1523 to the corresponding period of 1525, the Reformation from theory and prophecy became fact. The successive steps may therefore most conveniently be here stated in comparatively few words.

It will be remembered that up to this time there was no real change in the religious life of the people. Lent was kept as usual, the sacrifice of the mass was offered, confessions were heard, and absolution given, the images in the churches still stood. The scriptural authority of all these things was openly denied, it is true, but they existed all the same. Some of the priests had married, but as some of them had had so-called wives before, this change was not so noticeable. Some nuns marrried. The marriage of those who had solemnly vowed to lead strictly celibate lives caused great scandal among many who were otherwise friendly to the Reformation. Many monks and nuns left the convents, probably in many cases to their sorrow, as they found "the world" less congenial than the convent, even though the round of prayers and duties was often irksome.

Zwingli had, however, prepared the ground for a fresh growth of religious customs, and it came up as rich as he could desire, and his preaching early effected very radical changes which affected the purses as well as the faith of the people, as was shown when on September 29, 1523, the Council ordered that henceforth no fees should be collected in the Great Minster for baptisms, dispensations of the Eucharist, or for interments without gravestones; that the use of candles at burials was not obligatory; that all the clergy of the Minster should preach the Word of God; that the unnecessary number of persons supported by the Minster should be reduced gradually by not filling the places of those who died; that the Bible should be daily publicly read for an hour each in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and at the same time explained; that a thorough education be given to all candidates to the ministry, and that the children be also specially cared for; and that for educational purposes suitable buildings be provided; that holders of benefices should as far as possible discharge parish duties; that there should not be two kinds of priests in the cathedral — canons and chaplains — but only one kind; that the cathedral surplus should be distributed to the poor under the care of a committee of which Zwingli was one.[1]

Caution was Zwingli's characteristic. He would move no faster than public sentiment approved. Yet he did his best to form such sentiment. He prepared the way for the change and then quietly let things come to a crisis. So it was with the

[1] Bullinger, i.. 115–119; *cf.* Egli, *A. S.*, Nos. 368, 372, 425, 426.

radical matter of using the vernacular for the Church services; Zwingli advocated it, but Leo Jud, in the baptism of a child in the Great Minster, August 10, 1523, first introduced it, and then when Zwingli found it was popular, he proceeded to reform the liturgy and unfold his novel teaching respecting it. In his treatise on "The Canon of the Mass,"[1]— dated IV. Cal. Septemb. (*i. e.*, September 2) 1523 — the canon is that part of the mass liturgy in which the words of the institution appear, and is therefore doctrinally the storm centre of discussion respecting it — he enunciates the doctrine now so commonly associated with his name that the Eucharist is not a mystery but a ministry, the atmosphere is not awe but love, the result is not infusion of grace but of enthusiasm; we remember Christ, and the thought of His presence stirs us to fresh exertion in His service. He proposed a substitute for the Latin prayers which still more strikingly would set forth these teachings. Yet, characteristically he made no innovation himself at once. His books, however, laid down principles which logically followed out would oblige a complete break with the Old Church. Yet, so slow was he to make changes that on October 9, 1523, he actually defended himself against the charge that he retained the Old Church ceremonies—the use of the cross, vestments, choir-singing, etc.,—because he liked them![2]

The people sometimes, as in the case of the vio-

[1] III., 83–116, written in four days, August 25 to 29, and dedicated to his patron, Geroldseck.

[2] In his "Apology" for his tract on the Mass Canon, dated October 9, 1523; iii., 117–120.

lators of Lent in 1522, outran his prudence and put into practice the line of conduct he advocated before he was ready that they should. But he was now fully embarked upon the sea of troubles incident to radical reform, and was prepared for whatever came. He could count upon little sympathy outside of Zurich,[1] but within it he was strong. Zwingli had taught that the images of the Virgin Mary and of the saints found in all churches were idols, and should be removed, yet he took no steps to remove those in the Great Minster. Bolder spirits undertook to carry out his ideas elsewhere. The friends of the old order resisted, denounced the action as sacrilege, and secured the imprisonment of the offenders. Zwingli, as in the case of the earlier violators of Lent, acknowledged the logic of the situation, although deprecating the violence which the iconoclasts sometimes used, and visited the offenders in prison, whom he addressed not as criminals but as over-zealous and thoughtlessly unruly. Still the situation demanded action by the city and cantonal authorities. These appointed a committee consisting of four members of the Little Council and four of the Great Council to study with the three priests in charge of the three parishes (Zwingli, Engelhard, and Jud) the Scripture passages bearing on the religious use of images, and to report to the Great Council. Meanwhile the iconoclasts remained in prison.[2]

[1] The Swiss Diet at Baden on September 30, 1523, passed a law threatening all adherents of the Reformed faith with punishment.

[2] So Zwingli writes in a letter of October 9, 1523 (vii., 311, 312).

THE GREAT MINSTER, ZURICH.

Subsequently the Council on Monday before St. Gall's day (*i. e.*, October 12th) summoned[1] all the clergy of the canton to discuss in a public debate on Monday, October 26, 1523, what should be done about the Church images and also the mass. Urgent invitations to be represented were sent to the bishops of Constance, Basel, and Chur, to the University of Basel, and to each canton.[2] The answers were characteristic. Constance declared (October 16th) that he would be answerable to both his rulers (Pope and Emperor) if he took part in the proposed disputation; urged the Council to give the idea up, and leave all such questions for answer at the coming General Council. Basel declared that he was too old and weak to make the journey; that only the whole Church should undertake such changes, and also they should avoid schism. Chur sent no reply at all. The cantons, except Schaffhausen and St. Gall, declined to send deputations. Bern and Solothurn replied in friendly fashion, but said the matter should be discussed by the Confederacy as a whole; the abbot of St. Gall politely declined to come; Lucerne reproached Zurich for her persistency in error; Upper Unterwalden was bitter and abusive.[3]

Notwithstanding this rather discouraging result, Zurich persisted and the debate was held.[4] The Council laid down the same general conditions as in

[1] Bullinger gives the text of the summons, i., 128 *sq.*

[2] I., 543.

[3] I., 460.

[4] See the account in i., 464–540, as reprinted from Ludwig Hetzer's, issued December 8, 1523.

January: the language used should be the vernacular; the final authority should be the Word of God. Schaffhausen was represented by Sebastian Hofmeister; St. Gall by Vadian and Schappeler. The burgomaster presided, and 350 ecclesiastics of the canton and 550 other persons were counted as attendants. The proceedings lasted three days. The first day was given to a debate upon the proposition: the Church images are forbidden by God and Holy Scripture, and therefore Christians should neither make, set up, nor reverence them, but they should be removed.[1] It was resolved to remove them wherever it could be done without disturbance or wounding tender consciences.

Those in prison for the offence of removing them were recommended to mercy, and the burgomaster promised to spare them.[2]

The second and third days were taken up in discussing this proposition: the mass is no sacrifice, and hitherto has been celebrated with many abuses, quite different from its original institution by Christ. The debate being now on a burning question was livelier. Zwingli shrewdly avoided a plain statement as to the exact nature of the elements, for the time had not come for his radical stand, but he showed wherein a representation differed from a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. He confessed that transubstantiation and its defenders, especially the

[1] Bullinger, i., 131. The burgomaster interrupted the debate in the morning at 11 A.M. to announce that it was time to go to dinner, and the next session would begin at 1 P.M.

[2] *Ibid.*, 132, 133.

monks, had too frequently been attacked by abuse rather than by argument, but stoutly declared that the monks were hypocrites, and monasticism was of the devil.[1] The debate on the third day began at noon, and was in continuation of the preceding. But although so much time was consumed, no decision was arrived at, except to let the Council handle it. It was perhaps noticed that the debate on the third day did not begin till noon. The explanation is that Zwingli preached that morning. So many country preachers could not separate without having a sermon from the leading city preacher. Many months later he expanded the discourse by urgent request, and published it March 26, 1524.[2] It is called "The Shepherd." In it he contrasts the good and the false shepherds. He set plainly before them the prospect that fidelity would lead to martyrdom. Such was the fate he expected for himself, as appears from his letters.[3]

Zwingli on November 11, 1523, thus informed Vadianus[4] what happened after the disputation: The Council selected four from its own ranks and four from the citizens, "as they call them," that they might consult with the abbot of Cappel (eleven

[1] I., 502. The thoughtful and perhaps hungry burgomaster interrupted the debate as usual at 11 A.M. to remind the assembly that it was time to go to dinner! I., 519.

[2] I., 631–668. It was translated into modern German by Christoffel, Zurich, 1843, and by B. Riggenbach, Basel, 1884, and was translated into English under the title, "The Image of Both Pastors," London, 1550.

[3] *Cf.*, *e. g.*, vii., 319 *sqq.*

[4] Who had been one of the three presidents at the recent disputation (Bullinger, i., 130).

miles south of Zurich), the provost of Embrach (ten miles north by east), the comtur of Küssnacht (five miles south by east on Lake Zurich), and the chief priests of the three parishes of Zurich,—Zwingli, Engelhard, and Jud,—

"so as to discover a plan by which to move forward the work of Christ. It was agreed that a brief introduction to the Council's order should be written by me, by means of which those bishops [ruling pastors] who had hitherto either been ignorant of Christ, or had been turned away from Him, should be induced to begin to preach Him. This was read on November 9th, and pleased the Council and is now being printed. It was also resolved that the abbot of Cappel should preach Christ under the authority of the city across the Alps [Basel ?], the comtur [or head of the monastery] at Küssnacht around the lake [of Zurich] and in the province of Grueningen [twelve miles south-east and about four miles back of east bank of lake], and I in those provinces which look toward Schaffhausen and Thurgau [the cantons on the east and north of Zurich], so that the sheep of Christ might not by anyone's negligence be deprived of hearing the word of salvation. They will shortly determine what will be done about the images, as soon as the people have been instructed; and the same with regard to the mass. In the meantime we are to go on in our wonted manner, except that it is permitted to any to remove their private images, as long as no one is injured. The prisoners are to be treated according to the highest law—what that means you do not need to be told.[1] But this is reasonable, for it does not escape you what

[1] The ringleaders and the pastor of Hongg, three miles north-west of Zurich, whose sermon had incited the iconoclasts, were banished.

sort of men we have to fear at this time, not so much for the thing itself as for the glory of Christ. For there are those who revolt against the Gospel of Christ unless you yield a little to their infirmities. For the sake of these I think that Lawrence Hochrutiner [a leader in a cross-breaking expedition] has been treated a little too firmly, not to say harshly; a good man, by Hercules, but punished very severely because he has said too much. So he is compelled to go away from here, and does not find any place in the whole world except your city where he can settle. . . . Whatever service you do him you will do to Zwingli." [1]

The "brief introduction" alluded to bears the title: "A short Christian introduction which the honourable Council of the city of Zurich has sent to the pastors and preachers living in its cities, lands, and wherever its authority extends, so that they may in unison henceforth announce and preach the true Gospel to their dependents." [2] It was prepared by Zwingli in fourteen days, so it was a hasty work as usual, and read before the Council on November 9, and printed November 17, 1523. Preceding it is the mandate of the Zurich authorities which commends the "Introduction" on the ground of its scriptural character, and repeats the requests to be corrected out of the Scriptures, if they have in any respect not advocated correct opinions.[3] The treatise is throughout doctrinal, but far from abstruse. It begins with a brief handling of sin, then of the law. At greater length it treats of the Gospel, as God's way of deliverance from the law; next upon

[1] VII., 313, 314. [2] I., 541–565. [3] I., 542 *sq.*

the deliverance itself, the "removal of the law." Next, but more briefly, upon images. Zwingli says, in concluding the section:

"It is clear that the images and other representations which we have in the houses of worship have caused the risk of idolatry. Therefore they should not be allowed to remain there, nor in your chambers, nor in the market-place, nor anywhere else where one does them honour. Chiefly they are not to be tolerated in the churches, for all that is in them should be worthy of our respect. If anyone desires to put historical representations on the outside of the churches, that may be allowed, so long as they do not incite to their worship. But when one begins to bow before these images and to worship them, then they are not to be tolerated anywhere in the wide world; for that is the beginning of idolatry, nay, is idolatry itself." [1]

The closing section, which is also comparatively brief, is upon the mass; and mainly an explicit denial that the mass is a sacrifice. It teaches us that Christ has left us a definite, visible sign of His flesh and blood, and calls the eating and drinking His remembrance. The old use of the Eucharist was an abuse which should be abolished: yet so cautiously that no disturbance arise therefrom. The effect of the second disputation of this action by the Council, the visit of the delegates to the parishes, and of Zwingli's tractate was exactly as he would have it. Priests everywhere in the canton declined to read mass, and the presence of the

[1] I., 561 *sq.*

images in the churches was more and more considered an offence. There was, however, a party which honestly deplored these departures from the old order, and Zwingli himself advised deliberation. The division in the chapter of the Great Minster as to the mass led to the reference of the matter to the Council on December 10th, and it in turn referred it to the three people's priests. Zwingli wrote the "opinion"[1] entirely on the side of the proposed changes, and plainly announced that on the coming Christmas day, Friday, December 25, 1523, the Lord's Supper would be administered under both forms, and daily thereafter there would be a brief Bible exposition in place of the daily mass. The Council, however, decided to allow both the old and new forms of the Eucharist in the city, and practically only the old elsewhere in the canton, and to postpone any revised liturgy.[2] On December 19th, the Council replied directly to the chapter of the Great Minster, inviting them and all the city clergy to a disputation upon the matters in dispute in the Town Hall on Holy Innocents' day, Monday, December 28th, before the city magistracy; and meanwhile the Council ordered that the folding doors which covered certain pictures in the cathedral should be closed and kept closed, and that no church banners, crucifixes, or pictures should be carried about. The conference only resulted in the call for another, between the representatives of the Old Church party and the three people's priests, on

[1] I., 566–568.

[2] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 460.

January 19 and 20, 1524.[1] Meanwhile the bishops of Constance, Basel, and Chur, the University of Basel, and the confederate authorities were to be asked for their opinions on Zwingli's "Introduction."

[1] I., 568; Bullinger, i., 139 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

GEROLD MEYER VON KNONAU, HUTTEN, AND ERASMUS

1523

THE relations between Zwingli and the woman he afterwards married were probably partly brought about by the fact that her son Gerold was one of his pupils in the Latin school attached to the Great Minster. In the spring of 1521, Gerold, along with other youths who had enjoyed Zwingli's instruction, was sent to Basel where he was put at first under James Nepos[1]; afterwards under Glareanus. From Basel he wrote to Zwingli in September, perhaps, enthusiastically praising the city and its learned men, and showing that he was enjoying himself in other than literary pursuits.[2] The tone of the letter is slightly patronising, as was expected of a young patrician addressing an ordinary man, even one whom he styles his "master, respected and beloved for many reasons," but at the same time boyishly frank and affectionate. Considered as the production of a boy only eleven years old, it is remarkable. Zwingli seems to have reciprocated Gerold's affection; at all events, on August 1, 1523,

[1] VII., 169.
[2] VII., 181 *sq.*

when Gerold, then thirteen years old, returned from a stay at the baths in Baden, about twelve miles north-west of Zurich, Zwingli took the trouble to put into shape a little collection of "precepts" upon education which he had begun years before, and gave it to him as a "bath-present," it being customary then so to greet with presents persons coming from the baths. The collection was afterwards printed.[1] It is dedicated to Gerold in a very fatherly tone. "The first precepts contain how the tender mind of an ingenuous youth may be instructed in those things which relate to God; the second how in those which relate to himself; the third, how in those which have regard to others."[2]

Judging from the dedication to him, Gerold was

[1] IV., 148–158. Its popularity is attested by the appearance of numerous editions of it. It was written originally in Latin, and printed at Basel, 1523; reprinted in Augsburg, 1524, along with Melanchthon's *Elementa Puerilia*, and the same year by Froschauer in Zurich; again in Basel, in 1541, in a collection of twenty-one pedagogical papers, but without Zwingli's name, merely, as "Written by a Christian Theologian." In 1524 a translation in Upper Rhine German appeared, probably at Basel (reprinted by K. Fulda, Erfurt, 1844). This seems to have stirred up Zwingli to make a translation of his little book into the dialect of Zurich, and this was printed by Froschauer in Zurich, 1526; reprinted by August Israel in Part IV. of his collection of rare pedagogical tracts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Zchopau, 1879; and by E. Egli, with the original Latin on the opposite page, Zurich, 1884. An English translation of the treatise from the Latin was made by "Richarde Argentyne, Doctour in Physck, imprinted at Ipsewich [London] by Anthony Scoloker, dwellyng in S. Nycholas Paryshe Anno 1548." A new translation on the basis of Israel's edition of the German was prepared by Professor Alcide Reichenbach of Ursinus College, and published, Collegeville, Pa., 1899.

[2] IV., 149.

a sober-minded and precocious youth who would appreciate and profit by Zwingli's good advice.[1]

The year 1523 was destined to see the end of the friendship between Zwingli and Erasmus. It is not probable that Erasmus ever had any affection for Zwingli, but they had much in common. They were both devoted students of the Greek and Latin classics and had many common friends among the Humanists. Religiously they both had come to the truth through culture and reflection, and were strangers to any violent conversion. They both were sociable and lovers of fun; both looked leniently upon the follies and pleasant vices of mankind, while themselves in maturer years chaste and pious. To young Zwingli there was no scholar like Erasmus. He was ready to make a long journey to sit reverently at his feet.[2] Erasmus considered his pupil agreeable and promising, and occasionally wrote him a letter[3]; but when Zwingli carried out to their logical conclusions the teachings of Erasmus, and proposed to abolish the evils of the Roman Church, as manifested in Zurich, Erasmus became alarmed, claimed that the time was not yet ripe for action, and would dissuade Zwingli from doing anything.[4] The interest of the old scholar was changing into indifference when an event occurred which broke up their friendship abruptly and absolutely, namely, Zwingli's treatment of Ulrich von

[1] *Cf.* pp. 232 *sqq.* for additional information as to Gerold.

[2] P. 79.

[3] Pp. 80 *sqq.*

[4] VII., 251. As Strauss truthfully says: "Humanism was large-minded, but faint-hearted" (*Ulrich von Hutten*, Eng. trans., p. 346).

Hutten, a man Erasmus hated. Hutten was the most picturesque character to espouse the cause of the Reformation. He was a scion of a noble family in Hesse-Cassel, accomplished, learned, extremely witty and humorous, a fearless fighter for intellectual and religious liberty, and one who deserved well of the cause of the Reformation, which he embraced with characteristic ardour though dissipated and licentious. He enjoyed till near the end of his life the friendship of Erasmus, but forfeited it by his vehement attack upon him as too cowardly to declare himself openly a Lutheran, while really so. The attack was in revenge for Erasmus's conduct in not calling upon him during his stay of two months in Basel. As is seen from the sentences quoted in the note below, Hutten appeared at the house of Glareanus. Erasmus was, however, wary how he allied himself with one under the ban, hopelessly in debt, and also whose shameful disease made him physically loathsome. This attack turned Erasmus into the implacable foe of Hutten, and of all who defended or aided Hutten. Zwingli, as a Humanist, was of course familiar with Hutten's career, and occasional mention of him occurs in his correspondence.[1]

[1] Hutten's name is first mentioned in the Zwingli correspondence in a letter from William Nesen, dated April, 1518, wherein his phrase "the citadel of impudence" is quoted (vii., 40), and it is said, "The latest production of Hutten is greatly praised by the learned" (vii., 41). Next Myconius, on February 20, 1520, mentions him along with Erasmus, Luther, and Valla, and other Humanists (vii., 115). Valentine Curio, a Basel bookseller, in May, 1520, calls Zwingli's attention to certain dialogues of Hutten's with a view to his buying them (vii., 134). Myconius, on August 21, 1520, men-

It appears that after leaving Basel (January 19, 1523) Hutten went to Mülhausen, in the present Elsass, eighteen miles north by west of Basel, and

tions the issue of Hutten's literary attack on the Duke of Würtemberg (vii., 146). Hedio, on October 15, 1520, writing from Mainz, says: "Hutten [who had just been expelled from Mainz for attacking the Roman Church] lies in hiding, for whom prison has been prepared by the Romans, who have issued secret instructions either to arrest him and take him in chains to Rome or else slay him. Nevertheless, he will remain hidden, as the monks perceive to whom this promise has been entrusted: for they are the furies of the Pope" (vii., 148). In 1522, from Basel, on November 28th, Glareanus thus writes of him: "Hutten is with us, not an agreeable guest, as I think, to the very learned man [Erasmus]. I have eaten with him twice, and he will be here some time. But the protection promised by the magistracy, though I do not know that he will need it, yet he wished to have it. Not yet over his sickness and in Germany hardly able to rest anywhere in safety, he seeks here a little breathing space" (vii., 247). "I wish you were present some days at my house. You would see Erasmus, Hutten, Œcolampadius" (vii., 248). So Johannes Xylotectus, writing from Lucern on December 11, 1522, says: "I have seen a letter sent to a certain patrician here from a Baseler in the upper walks of life, in which the statement is made that Hutten has just now arrived at Basel, along with him [Œcolampadius], who was on intimate terms with Franz von Sickingen" (vii., 252). Henry Eppendorf, writing from Basel sometime in December, 1522, says: "Your book presented by Christopher [Froschauer, the printer of Zurich] to my library, and in which you most wisely counsel the German princes against the deceit of the Roman pontiff, I have perused most eagerly, and have let Ulrich von Hutten, that unique defender of religion and liberty in Germany, read it also" (vii., 259). Otho Brunfels, a friend of Hutten's, under date of February 13, 1523, from Nuremberg, writes: "Our Hutten is in bad shape and we others are indiscriminately overthrown" (vii., 273). Œcolampadius, writing from Basel on June 16, 1523, says: "I ask you to forward this parcel to that beloved knight, Ulrich von Hutten" (vii., 301), and on July 8, "Greet for me, I pray you, my lord Hutten, and tell him that letters have lately come to me for him" (vii., 301).

lay hidden there for some months in the Augustinian monastery. But so pugnacious and reckless an opponent of the Roman Church could not keep quiet. From Mülhausen he issued his "Expostulation" with Erasmus. This revealed his presence to the Old Church party and they threatened his life. The City Council prudently advised him to withdraw, and about the middle of July he left one night and fled to Zurich, which in a straight line was sixty miles south-east. There Zwingli with characteristic kindness befriended him,[1] and for the benefit of his health sent him to Pfaefers, with a letter of recommendation to the abbot, who was a friend of the Reformation. The healing springs in the gorge beneath the village were then and are to-day famous. But Hutten could not be cured and so turned back towards Zurich.[2] Zwingli then sent him to the

[1] Blarer writes from Constance on July 27, 1523: "Commend me to Hutten, who I hear is with you. That 'Expostulation' of his with Erasmus, just published, shows us pleasantly and intimately if anything ever did that German mind of his, so that it is a great grief to us that the health of that truly Christian man is so little firm, whereas it ought to be adamantine" (vii., 305).

[2] On his way, probably, from Einsiedeln, where he rested, he sent Zwingli this letter, the only one of his to Zwingli which has been preserved; it has no date, but must have been written in July or August, 1523: "I derived no benefit from the baths of Pfaefers, because they are not hot enough. It seems that the labour and peril to which I have gone have been of no avail for the recovery of my health" [This is an allusion to the fact that at times invalids had to climb down hanging ladders into the gloomy gorge wherein the springs are, or to be let down by ropes. *Cf.* Strauss's *Hutten*, Eng. trans., p. 352]. It cannot be told with what kindness and liberality the abbot [of Pfaefers; the monastery where Hutten stopped was in the village of Pfaefers, on a high hill, and directly over the

THE TAMINA GORGE IN WHICH BAD PFÄFERS IS LOCATED.

island of Ufnau, opposite Rapperswyl, towards the extreme eastern end of the Lake of Zurich, some twenty-two miles from Zurich, where the pastor, Hans Schnegg, a canon of Einsiedeln, was also a skilful physician.

On August 10th, Erasmus wrote to the City Council of Zurich to be on their guard against the insolence of Hutten, and because it might work great harm to the city, he advised them to put a curb on the dangerous man. When Hutten heard of this letter he asked the Council to communicate its contents to him, that he might answer it, and claimed that he had from boyhood led a life of virtue and piety, which was untrue! On August 31st, Erasmus wrote directly to Zwingli[1]; and never again except in the form of a dedication.[2]

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deep gorge just mentioned] treated me. On this account you will give him my thanks when you write him. In me he favoured you and the comtur [Schmidt of Küssnacht]. When I left, he begged me earnestly to spend some weeks with him. He also furnished me horses and provisions for the journey [from the monastery to Zurich, which might take for so sick a man as Hutten at least a couple of days]. He advised me to visit the baths again sometime; for the cause of their doing me no good now, was the rain which fell all these days and mingled itself with the baths. Cold water was never wanting, either falling from the sky, or lately flowing from the rocks in torrents so as to threaten my little bath-house. Thus much about the baths, where I have been told Nicholas Prugner has come from Mülhausen, besides letters for me. Write and tell me how matters are, and if there are letters for me, have them forwarded. Also inform me what provision you have made for my entertainment: for I would have moved thither to-day if I had not been uncertain where I was to go. I do not doubt but that you will not have failed me in the matter. Whatever it is, inform me, and farewell" (vii., 302).

[1] VII., 307–310. [2] VII., 310.

In carefully chosen words he defended himself against the common report that he was a trimmer, and coming at last to the point he thus delivered himself:

"Hutten's 'Expostulation' has not been withdrawn, at least not until it had been widely spread abroad and many copies of it had gone into circulation. I do indeed not grudge him the favour of your citizens. I wonder none the less on what account they bestow their favour on him. As to a Lutheran? But no one has more thwarted the cause of the Gospel. For good letters? But no one has so hurt that cause. That little book of his, written without cause against a friend, will call forth much hostility to the German name. What is more barbarous than to make so many false charges against a friend who wishes well to him, and has deserved well of him? I know that he was influenced from an outside source, and that this has been pushed by some in order to extort money from my friends. Concerning his other deeds I will say nothing; they are sufficiently notorious, but even pirates cherish true friendship. I replied to him. More properly I did not reply, but repelled an impudent calumny. The cause of the Gospel and of good letters influences me more than the injury to myself. I do not value the friendship of those who delight in such a disposition. Everybody is sure that this raging of his has you for instigator, however you evade the issue. He can bring much evil to your city, but no good. And further, Œcolampadius declared that he had enlarged his evil-spoken book. Still I see the real fact; he will go on raging, not so much to my injury as to that of good letters. But if he does not stop gnashing his teeth on a fragile bit, he will

strike something solid. You will use your influence to restrain the man, if you see that it is for the interests of polite literature and of the Gospel and of the German name—for nowadays the people call everybody a German who uses the German language. . . . What our Hilarius said, that Hutten's book could be printed because you allowed it, he said of his own volition, not at my command. Farewell."

On August 15th, Hutten's second attack on Erasmus, which was not calculated to make matters better, appeared, and in two weeks thereafter (August 31st) Hutten died. He was just past his thirty-fifth birthday. He was buried on Ufnau, but the place is now unknown.[1]

But for befriending Hutten, or rather for sharing the views of Hutten, as expressed in his attacks,

[1] Zwingli thus wrote about Hutten's affairs, October 11, 1523: "Hutten had some debts here also, and all his goods were not enough to pay them. Therefore, he left nothing of any value. He had no books, and no furniture except a pen. Of his effects I saw nothing after his death except some letters which he had received from his friends, or sent to them, and which he had sewed together. A short time ago there was a man here who brought a letter to him who is dead, which I sent to Henry Eppendorf. From him I learn that there was some hope for the creditors of Hutten. Wherefore if you can meet Eppendorf, tell him to give his aid and counsel in this matter. I have no advice to give beyond this. He owed me three gold-pieces and the comtur at Küssnacht twenty. But let me not forget to say the courier said: That there remained from the wreck of Hutten's affairs two hundred gold-pieces which Eppendorf would perhaps receive. I then wrote to Eppendorf on behalf of the comtur, but so far have received no reply. I ask, therefore, that if you should receive any hope, you will indicate that his dues also should be paid. I do not worry about what is due me; if anything comes to me, I will receive it; if not well and good" (vii., 313).

Erasmus had only scorn. Still he did not at once break with Zwingli, but dedicated to him his "Sponge to wipe off the aspersions of Hutten," his reply to Hutten's first attack, in a courteous epistle,[1] and then ceased to write to him. Zwingli deplored this estrangement,[2] but it was inevitable. And the break with Erasmus was accompanied with the loss of the friendship of Glareanus,[3] who was the shadow of Erasmus and shared his religious views. This fact comes out in the letter Zwingli, on May 28, 1525, wrote to Vadianus:

"When Erasmus of Rotterdam received my commentary ["On the true and false religion"] he exclaimed, as a friend of his reports: 'My good Zwingli, what do you write that I have not first written?' I tell you this that you may see how far self-esteem can carry us. Would that Erasmus had treated my arguments with his pen! The world would then have been persuaded, so that I should not labour under such a burden of enmity. I always preferred to stay in the background; but the Lord did not wish it, and His will be done. Would that the name of Erasmus had been attached to my book! Then shamefacedness would not have held me in its bonds, nor the fear of vainglory. I thus speak before the Lord: After my writings have been read by all, I would wish that my name should fall into oblivion. Glareanus rages against me, and takes all measures not

[1] VII., 310, 311.

[2] See his kind remarks about Erasmus, viii., 174, 175.

[3] It is noteworthy that not a single letter to Glareanus appears in the Zwingli correspondence. After the rupture Glareanus may have destroyed them. The last letter of Glareanus preserved is dated February 14, 1523 (vii. 270, 271), and is very friendly.

only against me, but also against Œcolampadius. See how the thoughts of the heart are revealed, when Mary, *i. e.*, those who are Christ's mother, sister, and brother, are stricken with the sword of persecution. Who would have thought that there was in the former [Erasmus] so great a desire for glory, and in the latter [Glareanus] so much of malignity and venom! The most learned men everywhere congratulate the Swiss; and a Swiss [Glareanus] chafes because of Zwingli." [1]

[1] As indicating the way in which Erasmus was later spoken of by Œcolampadius, see his letter of January 15, 1530, to Zwingli, viii., 395.

CHAPTER X

THE REFORMATION IN ZURICH COMPLETED

1524

THE year 1524 marked the completion of the break with the Old Church as far as Zurich was concerned. The changes were made deliberately and under orders from the City Council. They occasioned no revolt, although they were of the most radical description. It was made to appear that the changes came in consequence of the city authorities' conviction of their scripturalness, and not because Zwingli had insisted upon them. Nor was a step taken without the approval beforehand of the thoughtful classes. Zwingli and his fellow Reformers argued before the people the propriety of the changes about to be made. Then when a sufficient time had elapsed a public debate was held in the presence of the City Council, and then the Council ordered the changes. The consequence was the changes were made once for all, were fully comprehended, and gladly assented to.

By this course Zwingli proved his title to be called the Prudent Reformer. Granted that it was the clear-sightedness of the prayerful scholar rather than spiritual elevation which gave him the knowledge of the objectionable doctrines and practices of the Old

Church, he showed true courage in opposing and removing them; granted that he was totally lacking in Luther's flaming zeal, he accomplished a much more complete break with Rome; granted that he was no profound thinker like Calvin, he was much more easily comprehended and probably quite as correct. And in personal qualities he was superior to Luther and Calvin. Men loved Zwingli, and followed him because they loved him. They knew that he spoke the truth in the breadth of a loving heart; that he broke with Rome because he loved the truth more than life, and loathed the whole miserable business of mediæval hair-splitting theology, lying pardons, swindling sacraments, the incubus of a Church which was primarily a huge money-making concern, ruled by a Pope no spiritual man had any respect for and served by a clergy who as a class were low-bred and low-lived, preached by monks whose private histories were unsavoury, and sanctified, forsooth, by nuns who were virgin only in name. His heart made him protest. It could no longer be borne; the Church was pressing the life out of the poor people and sending them by millions to the bar of God without any knowledge of God's Word, or any preparation for His service.

Pursuant to the order of the Council, on Tuesday and Wednesday, January 19 and 20, 1524, Canon Hofmann, chief representative of the Old Party among the priesthood, met the three people's priests, and six theologians and six councillors, in private sessions, and attempted to defend the old usages. But the commission decided that he had

not made out his points from Scripture, and so the Council voted that the canons must give outward assent to the Council's orders or leave the city.[1]

With this last desperate attempt the Old Party closed their efforts, and there was no further formal opposition in Zurich to the Reformation. One by one, as the people were fully able to stand it, and understand it, those practices of the Old Church which Zwingli considered objectionable were removed. The saints' days passed unobserved; the procession to Einsiedeln which had taken place annually on Monday after Pentecost (that year May 16th), and which was made much of, was permanently abolished, by order of Council, the preceding Saturday[2]; the reliques were by similar order, June 15th, taken from the churches and reverently buried; the organs were removed and the ringing of the church bells during a tempest, even the tolling for funerals, stopped. Masses for the dead, processions of clergy, payment for confession, blessing of palms, holy water, candles, and extreme unction, all became things of the past.[3] The removal of the pictures, statues, images, and other ornaments from the churches was accomplished in the city between Saturday, July 2d, and Sunday, July 17th. Similar scenes took place all over the canton. The next step, and one which like the others was carefully weighed, was the abolition of the convents and monasteries in the city and canton of

[1] Bullinger, i., 139-142; Egli, *A. S.*, Nos. 483, 486, 489.
[2] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 527.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 544, 546, 547.

Zurich.[1] This was determined upon on December 3, 1524. All the monks were gathered into the Franciscan monastery, and the Dominicans and Augustinians were not allowed to return to their old homes. Most of them decided to leave the monastery and make their living as best they might. The nuns of the Oetenbach and Selnau convents had already been united in the former building.[2] The convent attached to the Frau Münster, through its abbess, on December 5th, surrendered itself to the city, and that attached to the Great Minster on December 20th. The revenue of the latter was appropriated at Zwingli's suggestion to a classical school of high grade, and generally speaking that which came to the city from such sources to good purposes, as relief of the poor or sick.[3]

So when 1524 closed, about the only reminder of the old order was the mass, which was allowed a little longer existence. But it was evident that its days were numbered. The heart and soul of these changes was Zwingli, and their completion filled him with joy and thanksgiving. While they were going on, he was incessantly occupied out of his study, so that the literary labours of the year are comparatively small. First comes his expanded sermon on

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[1] Bullinger, i., 228–230.

[2] The Dominican monastery was later made a hospital, and its church the fourth parish church; the Augustinian a kitchen for the preparation of food for the poor, and the Franciscan the place where it was dispensed; the nunnery of Selnau a house of correction, that of Oetenbach an orphanage.

[3] The "opinion" of Zwingli the Council followed (ii., 2, 327 *sq.*).

"The Shepherd," which has been already alluded to[1]; next his remarks, or marginal notes, upon the address of the bishops of Constance, Basel, and Lausanne to the Swiss Diet at Lucerne, April 1, 1524[2]; next his earnest and eloquent plea, addressed to the Swiss Diet, not to continue the mercenary traffic.[3] His text was the dreadful news of the decimation of the Swiss mercenaries by war and famine in Italy which had just reached Switzerland. But there was too much money in the business for it to be given up. He issued the address in May anonymously, concealing even the place of publication, in order to allay suspicion. His plea found few hearers. On June 25th he defended himself[4] against the curious slander that he derived his knowledge of the Scriptures from a certain Jew of Winterthur, named Moses, as if that could make any difference. He got the Jew to deny the charge in very emphatic language. He confesses, however, to a knowledge of Hebrew and that he had debated with this Jew on the Messianic prophecies. In the same tract he refutes another slander, viz., that he had in a sermon denied the divinity and atonement of Christ.

On the reception of the good news that the county of the Toggenburg, in which he was born, had accepted the Reformation, he wrote the Council of the county a congratulatory epistle, which was afterwards separately published in two editions.[5]

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[1] P. 205. [2] II., 2, 307–311.
[3] II., 2, 315–321; in modern German by Christoffel, Zurich, 1843.
[4] II., 2, 322–326. [5] VII., 352–356.

The only lengthy work of the year was his so-called *Antibolon*, the preface to which was dated August 18th; an attack upon Jerome Emser, "defender of the canon of the mass,"[1] *i. e.*, that part of the mass which contains the fixed rule according to which it is administered: in it the transubstantiation formula occurs. Emser had published at Dresden in the preceding year a tract with that title.[2] Zwingli, just as Luther and Melanchthon, both of whom wrote against Emser, has the bad taste to pun upon his name, which means "goat." Zwingli treats Emser as insultingly as he alleges Emser treated him. The tract is only to a small degree taken up with the mass, but in greater part with the Church,[3] Intercession of Saints, Merit, and Purgatory. On November 16th he issued an epistle on the Lord's Supper,[4] in which he shows plainly that he was settling upon those views which he afterwards more distinctly enunciated and was already completely emancipated from the spell of the mass; and on December 16th he replied at length to his Strassburg sympathisers, who submitted to him certain knotty questions,[5] viz., what should be their attitude

[1] III., 121–144. The word *antiboblon* is late legal Greek for a formal reply. See Sophocles' *Lexicon*, *sub voce*. Zwingli may have intended to use it, or else he made a slip in gender.

[2] *Canonis Missæ contra Huldricun Zwinglium Defensis*, 1523. The editors of Zwingli's works could not find a copy (iii., 121). That in my library is a small quarto of sixty-two unnumbered pages, and written in the form of a dialogue.

[3] A valuable summary of his opinion on this subject, pp. 134 *sqq.*

[4] III., 591–603.

[5] III., 615–626.

toward an unbelieving magistracy? whether the magistracy had the right to remove those who neither preached nor practised the Gospel? whether the marriage with the wife of a paternal uncle was allowable? what was his opinion on baptism and the Eucharist? To the first question he replied: obedience and proper respect; to the second, yes; to the third, no. In conclusion he gives his views upon the two sacraments, first on baptism. He defends the baptism of infants. In regard to the Eucharist, he perceives that Carlstadt had stirred them up, and cautiously expresses himself on his side as far as the denial of the corporal presence was concerned.

The longest and most earnest, as well as the last paper of the year, was called forth by the confusion and excesses incident to the religious upheaval. It appeared, appropriately, upon Innocents' Day (December 28th),[1] and refutes the charge that the Reformation can properly be charged with these occurrences; specifically with the Peasant War; rather the oppressive ecclesiastical and civil rulers were to blame for furnishing their occasion. It was addressed to the church at Mülhausen, near Basel, which had just gone over to the Reformation and so had just been exposed to the same threats as Zurich.

One more step remained to be taken and the church in Zurich would be completely emancipated from the Old Church, and that was to abolish entirely

[1] II., 1, 376–425. Modern German translation by Christoffel, Zurich, 1846.

the mass. Cautiously, but without retrogression, Zwingli had for years steadily moved towards this goal. In 1524 he had won from the Council permission for the priests to dispense the bread and wine under both forms if they would. This, however, still maintained the connection with the old forms. Judging that the time had come, and knowing that the friends of the ecclesiastical overturning were in decided majority in the Council of the Two Hundred, Zwingli and several other leaders appeared before the Council on Tuesday, April 11, 1525,—Tuesday of Holy Week,—and demanded the abolition of the mass and the substitution therefor of the Lord's Supper as described by the evangelists and the Apostle Paul. Opposition being made to the proposition, the Council delegated its debate with Zwingli to four of themselves, and their report being on Zwingli's side, the Council ordered that the mass be abolished forthwith.[1] Consequently, on Thursday, April 13, 1525, the first evangelical communion service took place in the Great Minster, and according to Zwingli's carefully thought out arrangement, which he had published April 6th. A table covered with a clean linen cloth was set between the choir and the nave in the Great Minster. Upon it were the bread upon wooden platters and the wine in wooden beakers. The men and the women in the congregation were upon opposite sides of the middle aisle. Zwingli preached a sermon and offered prayer. The deacon read Paul's account of the institution of the sacrament in I. Cor., xi., 20 *sqq.*

[1] II., 2, 232.

Then Zwingli and his assistants and the congregation performed a liturgy, entirely without musical accompaniment in singing, but translated into the Swiss dialect from the Latin mass service, with the introduction of appropriate Scripture and the entire elimination of the transubstantiation teaching.[1] The elements were passed by the deacons through the congregation. This Eucharist service was repeated upon the two following days.[2]

The impression made upon many by this service, so radically different from the Latin one to which they were accustomed, was at first painful, but as a class the Zurichers accepted it and saw without protest the removal of the altar, now meaningless, since there was no sacrifice, and of the organ, now useless, since there was no longer to be music in the churches.[3]

[1] The liturgy is given, ii., 2, 235–242.

[2] *Cf.* Bullinger, i., 264.

[3] For description of the services in the churches and further references to the religious life in Zurich see closing part of Chapter XIII. Zwingli prepared the way for each step and did his best to spread the knowledge of his course by his writings of 1525. He took especial pains to let his eucharistic teaching be known. In 1523 he published, all in Latin, "An Attempt (*Epichiresis*) on the Mass-canon" (iii., 83–116); in 1524 he replied to Emser's reply on the Mass-canon (iii., 121–144); in March, 1525, he brought out his very long "Commentary on the True and False Religion" (iii., 147–325), dedicated, strangely enough, to Francis I., King of France, in which he goes over all the topics of practical theology (see list, p. 153 *sq.*), and of which he issued separately the section on the Eucharist in a German version; on August 17, 1525, he published his "Crown of the Eucharist" (iii., 327–356). He issued also on the subject minor tractates in German, and probably wrote many private letters.

CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC MARRIAGE AND LETTERS OF 1524

1524

THE great event in Zwingli's life in 1524 was his public marriage. His bride was Anna Reinhard, widow of Hans Meyer von Knonau, a scion of the principal patrician house of Zurich, who, however, owing to circumstances, brought him very little money. The event gave great satisfaction to Zwingli's many friends, who for a long time had been troubled at his singular course, for he had since the early part of 1522 considered and treated Anna Reinhard as his wife, but for some reason had never publicly acknowledged her as such.

Here is a fitting place to tell with some detail the story of Anna Reinhard.[1]

Her ancestors came from St. Gall, but her grandfather received citizenship in Zurich in 1432, and there she was born in 1484. Her father became proprietor of the inn Zum Weissen Rossli, on the Sonnenquai, on the east bank of the Limmat, just

[1] For the facts, along with much romance and irrelevant matter, see Salomon Hess, *Anna Reinhard*, 2d ed., Zurich, 1820; *Zwingliana*, 1900, No. 2, pp. 161–163. It is noteworthy that Myconius, in his life of Zwingli, does not say a word about Zwingli's marriage.

under the Great Minster, in 1487.[1] She was a girl of ravishing beauty and won the attentions of the young patrician Hans Meyer von Knonau, who was six years older than she, being born in 1478, and his father's only son. To the disgust of his father he married her in 1504, and in consequence his father dispossessed him. This treatment did not injure Hans in the estimation of his fellow-townsmen, for in 1510 he became a member of the Great Council, in 1511 a city judge, and carried the Zurich banner in the battle of Novara in 1513, in which Zwingli was. He also retained the good-will of his cousin the Bishop of Constance. Three children were the result of his marriage: Margaretha, born 1505, twice married, 1527 to Anton Wirz, who was killed in the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531; later to Hans Escher; died 1549; Agatha, born 1507, married, 1528, Hans Balthasar Keller, a distinguished man, who died in 1554; and Gerold, born October 25, 1509; married at 16 to Küngolt Dietschi, a daughter of a city councillor, a girl of the same age; became a member of the Two Hundred and supported Zwingli; shared Zwingli's tastes and once played a principal part in a performance of a comedy of Aristophanes in the original Greek; died on the battle-field of Cappel, at Zwingli's side, October 11, 1531. Hans died in Zurich on November 26, 1517. A few years before (perhaps in 1513) little Gerold had been adopted by his grandfather as heir and taken to live in his house, where he con-

[1] Voegelin, *Das Alte Zürich*, 2d ed., i., 239.

tinued to live after the grandfather's death in 1518 until his step-grandmother's death in 1520, when he went back to his mother. But as in 1512 the grandfather had sold his estate of Knonau to the city of Zurich, Gerold inherited less real property than he otherwise should. After her husband's death Anna Reinhard continued to live with her two daughters in the "Höfli" house near the Great Minster. So when Zwingli came to Zurich in 1519, he found the beautiful Anna, a widow of a little more than a year's standing, living in his parish, and quite near his house, which was in the church courtyard, while her son, a promising lad, was in the school attached to his church, and shortly after became one of his pupils. To one of Zwingli's ardent temperament it may have been a case of love at first sight. How soon intimacy sprang up between them is unknown, but there was nothing in Zwingli's practices or in public opinion to hold him back from paying attentions to his beautiful parishioner and neighbour. In 1522 Zwingli moved to a house opposite to the cathedral on the east side, on the corner of the present streets, Gasse and Neustadt Gasse.[1]

His relations with Anna Reinhard was the talk of the town, and rumours of it spread pretty far. On or about April 27, 1522, his friend Glareanus writes jokingly: "They say that I have married here [in Basel] and that you have done the same thing [in Zurich]. I believe this is a lie in both cases. They add also that you have married a widow and I a woman of

[1] A tablet on the house thus reads: "The house to the pillar. Official residence of Ulrich Zwingli, 1522–1524."

the town."[1] As no letter from Zwingli to Glareanus has been preserved, it is impossible to find out now what answer Zwingli made, but Glareanus's letter is evidence that Zwingli had not taken him into his confidence and that rumour for once was veracious. Another friend states in his letter to Zwingli on November 28, 1522, that it was said that he (Zwingli) had publicly married the burgomaster's daughter.[2] Rumour in this case had only an inkling of the truth. Zwingli in his reply, dated December 20, 1522, while denying a certain slander on him, says not a word about his "marriage."[3] Nor does he allude to it when denying the charge of promiscuous immorality which the cantonal clerk of Schwyz retails to him under date October 19, 1522.[4] Nor does he mention Anna Reinhard in any preserved letter. That he had any wife would be unknown were it not that on July 22, 1522, Myconius writes, "best wishes for your wife"[5]; on September 23d, "remember me to your son,"[6] and about December 19th, "farewell to you and your wife."[7]

As appears from the above, Zwingli and Anna Reinhard considered themselves as married to one another, and this so-called "clerical marriage" involved no social stigma.[8] Still, when priest after priest in Switzerland and Germany publicly made the woman he was living with or some other woman his

[1] VII., 197. [2] VII., 247. [3] VII., 255.

[4] VII., 235. Zwingli's reply (vii., 237) is, however, incomplete and undated in present shape.

[5] VII., 210. [6] VII., 226. [7] VII., 253.

[8] For another concealed marriage among Zwingli's friends, see vii., 233.

wife, the wonder grew among Zwingli's friends that he did not do the same. The only defence possible is that there were social and legal obstacles in the way because Anna Reinhard was by marriage allied to the Zurich patricians.

The public marriage took place in the presence of many witnesses [1] on April 2d,[2] but not till July 26th did the City Council permit Zwingli's wife to leave her children and take up her abode in his house. The marriage was followed by troubles about the money matters of the Knonau children, who took up their residence in their late grandfather's house, "Meyerhof." But these appear to have been amicably settled.[3]

The impression that Zwingli had married an heiress had no foundation. His wife brought him very little money. His married life seems to have been happy and unsullied.

The Zwingli correspondence of 1524[4] has little general interest, and from that year is more and more taken up with petty matters, politics, baptismal and eucharistic statements, and with controversy. The letters of Zwingli himself are, however, always the best in the collection and most worthy of attention.

[1] So Bernhard Weis, quoted by Hess, p. 93 (in Fuessli, *Beytraege*, iv., 322 *sq.*).

[2] After this date there are frequent greetings to his wife in his correspondence.

[3] *Cf.* Hess, pp. 286 *sqq.*

[4] They may be thus analysed. On January 1, 1524 (vii., 323, 324), he wrote a very pleasant letter to Erasmus Ritter, pastor or "bishop" of Schaffhausen, which was the beginning of their correspondence;

When the news of Zwingli's public marriage reached Butzer in Strassburg, he wrote (April 14, 1524)[1]:

"When I read in the letter to Capito that you had given a public announcement of your marriage, I was almost beside myself in my great satisfaction. For it was the one thing I desired for you. Not that I had been able to attribute to you so great a lack of faith as to think that you feared that Christ would not use you as a married man fruitfully in the business of His Word, and that He had employed you to evil results as a celibate[2]—you who were daily saying such things as Antichrist would be able to endure much more easily than the acknowledgment of your marriage. I never believed you were unmarried after the time when you indicated to the Bishop of Constance in that tract[2] that you desired this gift. But as I considered the fact that you were considered a fornicator by some, and by others held to have little faith in Christ, I could not understand why you concealed it so long and that the fact was not declared

on February 23d (vii., 324–326), a very sharp letter to Dr. Brendlin, who was one of the episcopal delegation to Zurich in the spring of 1522, and a bitter foe to the Reformation, which he enclosed in a letter to Vadianus dated February 24th (vii., 327, 328). On April 30th a Roman Catholic correspondent informs him of the popular impression that he (Zwingli) was to be burned (vii., 329)! On March 28th, in writing to Vadianus, Zwingli (vii., 333, 334) complains that the pressure upon him compelled him to push out rather than publish his works—hence their repetitions and omissions. On April 11th he reins up his colleague, Conrad Hofmann, for having calumniated him (vii., 334). On May 16th he wrote a gossipy letter to Vadianus from Leo Jud's house (vii., 341, 342). On June 3d he

[1] VII., 335.

[2] See p. 166.

openly and with candour and diligence. I could not doubt that you were led into this course by considerations which could not be put aside by a conscientious man. However that may be, I triumph in the fact that now you have come up in all things to the apostolic definition." [1]

wrote a very long and friendly letter to Butzer, mostly upon the use of images.[2] His letter of June 16th (vii., 343–345) to John Frosch, who afterwards was a keen Lutheran, accompanies one from Urbanus Regius to Frosch, which bears testimony to Zwingli's extraordinary fitness to lead the reform (vii., 345–347). On July 4th he wrote again to Vadianus (vii., 347, 348), all about a marriage which Vadianus wished arranged. On July 25th Zwingli addressed in German his old lords of Toggenburg in behalf of the Gospel (vii., 348–356). On August 6th another long letter, this time to the burgomaster of Strassburg (viii., 651, 652). In that month he began a savage and insulting letter to Eck (vii., 356, 357), but probably never finished it, as the copy in his works is incomplete. On October 9th, to Œcolampadius, he wrote a few lines (vii., 360, 361). On October 20th he wrote another very long letter (vii., 361–367), which is in reality a treatise upon the errors intentional, or ignorant, of a certain preacher at Bremgarten, contained in an oration against the Gospel delivered at Baden. On October 24th, in writing to Pirkheimer (viii., 653), he derived the word *mass* from *missa*, the offering of a victim.

[1] Allusion to I. Timothy, iii., 2, as if, forsooth, it meant that it was obligatory upon a "bishop" to have a wife!

[2] See letter in R. Staehelin, *Briefe aus der Reformationszeit* (Basel, 1887), pp. 15–19.

CHAPTER XII

THE INNER COURSE OF THE ZURICH REFORMATION

1525–1530

AS in Germany so in Zurich, no sooner had the Reformation been established than the members of the reformed Church had to fight internal foes, as the Baptists were considered; and the attention of their leaders was taken up with controversies as to the proper treatment to give the peasants. The agitation on both these points came to Switzerland from Germany, and was explicable on the ground that it was the natural result of the awakening of the spirit of free speech, criticism of social conditions, and independent research in the Holy Word. But alas! the sixteenth century was no time for the radicals in these directions. Religious toleration was the furthest it could go. Religious liberty was a thing unknown. The day of political equality had not yet dawned. The troubles with the peasants in the canton of Zurich might have been more serious if the Peasant War in Germany had not ended in the crushing defeat of their fellow complainers. Still in Zurich as in Germany they

drew up a long list of complaints. These they presented to the Council, who in turn asked Zwingli to advise them. His advice was on the whole favourable to the peasants, as he advocated the abolition of the "small tithe," *i. e.*, the tax on vegetables, fruit, and edible roots, which was a great annoyance, and of bodily service in general.[1]

Tithes, however, he considered as binding, not on scriptural grounds, but on legal grounds, and declared that if they were not paid they would have to be made up otherwise by new and heavier taxes. In order to settle the matter the Council adopted the usual plan and held a public debate on June 22, 1525, in which Zwingli had the leading part. At its conclusion the Council ordered the payment of tithes and taxes, that the peasants be quiet and obedient to their lords, and that the preachers whose erroneous Bible teaching had fomented the disturbances be careful to counsel peace.

The Council then announced that they would go over the matter carefully with Zwingli and decide on the basis of Scripture what disposition should be made of the peasants' grievances. No further disturbances occurred among the peasants, but a disputation upon the subject of tithes was held in Zurich in the beginning of August. Zwingli repeated his arguments, but for once the Council held that he was mistaken and appealed to alleged biblical grounds for maintaining the tithes.[2]

[1] II., 2, 374–377.

[2] For general references see ii., 2, 364–373; Bullinger, i., 280 *sqq.*; Egli, *A. S.*, 756.

Zwingli's troubles because of the peasants were, however, not a circumstance to those caused by the Baptist party in Zurich.

The first members of the party were radicals, who put into practice theories of conduct which they knew Zwingli favoured, but was slow to adopt for himself. Thus they were those who in 1522 ate flesh in Lent; and those who pulled down the pictures and statues in the churches, before public opinion was exactly ripe for such action; they entered heartily into the reconstruction of the Church, but aspired to reconstruct the State as well and give it over to the saints, by which they meant themselves. Zwingli could not fail to perceive how closely they kept to his lines in doing these things, but he was naturally so cautious that their haste annoyed him and was by him condemned.[1] He insisted that if they were not in such a hurry they would accomplish their ends with more ease and certainty.

Being at first exclusively very plain people, and meeting in a private house, these radicals were unmolested by the authorities. Zwingli was at first often present at their meetings; indeed, they met to discuss his sermons. In the summer of 1522 they were joined by Felix Manz and Conrad Grebel, sons

[1] *Cf.* his remarks in iii., 57, 58: "Hundreds of times I have said openly, 'I beseech you by Jesus Christ, by our common faith, not to make any change rashly, but to show to all men by your endurance, if in no other way, that you are Christians, in that on account of the weak you bear things that by Christ's law you do not need to bear.'"

of distinguished citizens. Manz was the son of a canon, an excellent Hebrew scholar, and Zwingli's assistant, and it was at the time in his mother's house that they met. Grebel was the son of Jacob Grebel, one of the City Councillors. He was converted under Zwingli from a licentious life, and for a time followed Zwingli's advice, but, convinced that Zwingli was wrong upon the question of baptism and of duty towards magistrates, joined the radicals and soon became their chosen representative. The appearance of two such men among them gave them greatly increased importance, but led also to the commencement of persecution by the authorities, so that they met more secretly.

Their number in the city of Zurich, on September 5, 1524, was only twenty; outside, however, they had adherents among clergy and laity.[1]

It was in the Second Disputation, in October, 1523, that this radical party first emerged as a distinct entity. It demanded action immediate and decisive, not only respecting the removal of the pictures and images from the churches, but also respecting the administration of the Lord's Supper,—viz., that the practices in the original Supper as described in the New Testament should be followed,—and denounced the mass as of the devil.[2]

Zwingli laid little stress upon any literal imitation

[1] See letter of Grebel's to Thomas Münzer, quoted ii., 1, 374.

[2] See the report of the speeches of Conrad Grebel in the disputation (i., 528, 532 *sqq.* especially). From which it appears that it was on the third and last day of the disputation that the radical party first found voice.

of the Bible ordinances, which in this case would oblige logically the wearing of the same clothing as Christ and His apostles and the mutual feet-washing. His reply to the radicals was in good temper, but plainly showed that he could not be counted upon to support their claims, and that a breach between them and him had begun.

During the summer of 1524 he had two secret conferences with them.[1]

In September, 1524, Thomas Münzer, the German Protestant radical church-innovator, came near Schaffhausen and was visited by some of the Zurich radicals. In November, 1524, Andrew Carlstadt, the incautious opponent and detractor of Luther, came to Zurich. As it is then that, as a matter of fact, the radicals adopted the tenet that infant baptism was unscriptural, it lies very near to attribute their acceptance of it to Münzer and Carlstadt, especially as it appears from Grebel's letters to Vadian of September 3 and October 19, 1524, that he was in correspondence with both these men.[2] With the acceptance of this view the radical becomes the Baptist party.

Zwingli, like Œcolampadius and Capito, had at first no particular fault to find with this view upon baptism. Who the proper subjects were was a debatable question. Thus in his "Exposition" of the Articles defended in the First Disputation in 1523, Zwingli says:

[1] II., 1, 261.

[2] See *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung* (ed. Arbenz, St. Gallen, 1897), iii., Nos. 404, 407.

"Although I know, as the Fathers show, that infants have been baptised occasionally from the earliest times, still it was not so universal a custom as it is now, but the common practice was as soon as they arrived at the age of reason to form them into classes for instruction in the Word of Salvation (hence they were called catechumens, *i. e.*, persons under instruction). And after a firm faith had been implanted in their hearts and they had confessed the same with their mouth, then they were baptised. I could wish that this custom of giving instruction were revived to-day, viz., since the children are baptised so young their religious instruction might begin as soon as they come to sufficient understanding. Otherwise they suffer a great and ruinous disadvantage if they are not as well religiously instructed after baptism as the children of the ancients were before baptism, as sermons to them still preserved prove."[1]

By order of the City Council a public disputation was held on January 17 and 18, 1525, between the three people's priests (Zwingli, Jud, and Engelhard) and the Baptists. In consequence of the latter's "defeat," the Council, on January 18th, passed the following order commanding those who had refused to have their infant children baptised to present them for this purpose within a week on pain of banishment:

[1] I., 239, 240. Such speeches not unnaturally encouraged the Baptists to believe that Zwingli was really on their side. Accordingly when they appeared before the Zurich City Council, they claimed that he and the other Reformed pastors knew well that infant baptism was wrong, but they would not confess it. So Hubmaier deposed in 1525: "In 1523, on Philip and James' Day [Friday, May 1], I have with you [Zwingli] conferred in Graben Street upon the Scriptures relating to Baptism; then and there you said I was right in saying that children should not be baptised before

"Whereas an error has arisen respecting baptism, as if young children should not be baptised until they come to years of discretion, and know what the faith is; and whereas some have accordingly neglected to have their children baptised, our burgomaster, Council, and Great Council — so the Two Hundred of the city of Zurich are called—have held a disputation upon this matter to learn what Holy Scripture has to say about it, and having learned from it that notwithstanding this error the children should be baptised as soon as they are born; so must all those who have hitherto allowed their children to be unbaptised have them baptised inside the next week. Whoever will not do this must with wife and child, goods and chattels leave our city, jurisdiction, and domain, or await what will be done to him. Each one will accordingly know how to conduct himself. Done Wednesday before Sebastian's Day, MDXXV." [1]

On January 21st the Council forbade the private meetings of the Baptists and banished the foreigners among their members.[2]

they were instructed in the faith; this had been the custom previously, therefore such [persons under instruction] were called catechumens; you promised to bring this out in your 'Exposition' of the Articles, as you did in the XVIIIth Article, on Confirmation. Anyone who reads it will find therein your opinion clearly expressed. Sebastian Ruckensperger of St. Gall, then prior of [the Benedictine] Sion at Klingnan [twenty miles north-west of Zurich] was present. So you have also confessed in your book upon the unruly spirits, that those who baptised infants could quote no clear word in Scripture ordering them to baptise them. From this learn, friend Zwingli, how your conversation, writing, and preaching agree."—Füsslin, *Beyträge*, i., n. 54, pp. 252, 253.

[1] Füsslin, *Beyträge*, i., 189, 201; Egli, *A. S.*, No. 622.

[2] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 624.

Up to this time the Baptists merely protested against infant baptism, but had not ventured upon baptising adults who had already been baptised in unconscious infancy. Now, in the village of Zollicon, on the north shore of the Lake, and six miles from the city, whither persecution drove them, they proceeded for the first time to take the logical step.

Conrad Grebel seems to have been the leader in this. He rightfully argued from their accepted premise: baptism should follow a confession of faith, that only those who understood what the rite meant should be baptised; and baptised the former monk George Blaurock, who, in turn, baptised fifteen others. This baptism was by pouring, not by immersion. The idea found quick acceptance and soon all their adherents were baptised. They all agreed that the "baptism" they had received in infancy was invalid. Yet because the entire Christian Church in all centuries up to that time, and with the exception of Baptists ever since, has proclaimed that infant baptism was valid the party got the name of Anabaptists, *i. e.*, those who baptise again those previously baptised. One of the Baptists, Rudolph Thomann of Zollicon, examined by the Council of Zurich on February 7, 1525, thus described the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper as observed in the Zollicon gatherings:

"He had eaten the Lord's Supper with the old assistant (Brötli ?), and him from Witikon (Röubli), and had invited them into his house. . . . There many had assembled so that the apartment was full; there was

much speaking and long readings. Then stood up Hans Bruggbach of Zumicon, weeping and crying out that he was a great sinner and asking all present to pray God for him. Whereupon Blaurock asked him if he desired the grace of God and he said 'Yes.' Manz then arose and said, 'Who will hinder me from baptising him?' Blaurock answered, 'No one.' So Manz took a dipper of water and baptised him in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Whereupon Jacob Hottinger arose and desired baptism; and Felix Manz baptised him also. . . . Seeing the loaf on the table, Blaurock said: 'Whoever believes that God has redeemed him with His death and rosy-coloured blood, comes and eats with me from this loaf and drinks with me from this wine.' Then each one present ate and drank as invited."[1]

Weekly debates with the Baptists were held in Zurich during March[2] and one especially on March 20, 1525. But they only widened the breach, and the punishment of banishment which the Council inflicted for rebaptism did not lessen the numbers of the Baptists. Yet from the Council's point of view the punishment was defensible as the Baptists were enemies of the standing order. Among those openly to adhere to the Baptists was the famous theologian Balthasar Hubmaier. He quickly became their leading man, and it was with him that Zwingli was engaged in hot debate — all the more painful because Hubmaier had been a bosom friend.[3]

[1] Egli, *A. S.*, No. 636.

[2] So Zwingli says (iii., 363).

[3] So Bullinger (i., 224), who also states that Münzer converted Hubmaier to his views on baptism.

The fight was now on and it was bitterly waged. But no space can be given to it. Both sides went over the now well-worn arguments and were as far apart as ever. The action of the Zurich authorities was determined by practical considerations. They could not tolerate a body of schismatics who denounced Zwingli and themselves. If there were to be any abuse let Zwingli and them have it all to themselves.

So Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock were banished. Consistently believing in their favourite panacea, the Council ordered a third public disputation, which took place on November 6, 1525. As before, Zwingli was the spokesman of the Reformed. Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock were temporarily recalled from their banishment to debate with him. As they naturally declared themselves unconquered, they were threatened with the severest punishment. Hubmaier was not present.

Most of the Baptist leaders met violent deaths. After many adventures unhappy Felix Manz was, in punishment of his objectionable Baptist propaganda, drowned in the Lake of Zurich January 7, 1527; and George Blaurock was cruelly beaten and then banished under threat of death if he returned.[1]

He did return, however, and secretly baptised. He lived until 1529, when he was burned for his alleged heresy in Innsbruck. Conrad Grebel died of the plague at Maienfeld in 1526. Hubmaier was burnt at the stake in Vienna, March 10, 1528.

The fortitude of the Baptist martyrs made a great

[1] Egli, *A. S.*, Nos. 1109, 1110.

impression, and the party continued to flourish for a while in spite of the efforts of the magistracy. Zwingli and his associates[1] wrote book after book against them, and honestly favoured their extinction as enemies to Church and State.

In Zwingli's correspondence there are many more or less extended references to the Baptists, some of the most characteristic of which are here given, especially those relating to Balthasar Hubmaier.

To Œcolampadius, October 9, 1524 (vii., 360):

"The challenge of Balthasar [Hubmaier] lately issued, either send to me in print or have a copy made for me, whichever way this bookseller will act as messenger."

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[1] The following is the list of Zwingli's books on this subject, but Œcolampadius and others were equally diligent. (1) "Baptism, Re-baptism, and Infant Baptism," May 27, 1525 (ii., 1, 230–303; language, German; in modern German by R. Christoffel, Zurich, 1843); (2) "On the office of preacher, wherein is shown that the self-commissioned disturbers of the peace are not apostles as they consider themselves, work against God's Word when they obtrude themselves upon the sermons of the faithful pastors and preachers of the Gospel, without necessity or permission of the whole congregation and of the pastor," June 30, 1525 (ii., 1, 304–336, German); (3) "Dr. Balthasar [Hubmaier's] booklet upon Baptism honestly and thoroughly answered," 1525, exact date unknown, but after July 11, the date of Hubmaier's book (ii., 1, 343–369, German); (4) "Refutation of the tricks of the Catabaptists," July 31, 1527 (iii., 358–437, Latin); (5) "Questions upon the Sacrament of Baptism," drawn up by Schwenckfeld in 1530, after November 18th, when Brunner asked Butzer whether he should send them to Zwingli, who in this treatise reprints Schwenckfeld's questions and then briefly answers them (iii., questions 563–571, answers 571–588, Latin).

To Capito, January 1, 1526 (Staehelin, *Briefe aus der Reformationzeit*, p. 20):

"Balthasar of Waldshut has fallen into prison here — a man not merely irreverent and unlearned, but even empty. Learn the sum of the matter. When he came to Zurich our Council fearing lest he should cause a commotion ordered him to be taken into custody. Since, however, he had once in freakishness of disposition and fatuity, blurted out in Waldshut against our Council, of which place he, by the gods, was a guardian [*i. e.*, he was pastor there], until the stupid fellow disunited and destroyed everything, it was determined that I should discuss with him in a friendly manner the baptising of infants and Catabaptists, as he earnestly begged first from prison and afterwards from custody. I met the fellow and rendered him mute as a fish. The next day he recited a recantation in the presence of certain Councillors appointed for the purpose [which recantation when repeated to the Two Hundred it was ordered should be publicly made. Therefore having started to write it in the city, he gave it to the Council with his own hand, with all its silliness, as he promised. At length he denied that he had changed his opinion, although he had done so before a Swiss tribunal, which with us is a capital offence, affirming that his signature had been extorted from him by terror, which was most untrue]. [1]

"The Council was so unwilling that force should be used on him that when the Emperor or Ferdinand twice asked that the fellow be given to him it refused the request. Indeed he was not taken prisoner that he might suffer the penalty of his boldness in the baptismal matter, but

[1] The part in the brackets has not been all deciphered, and so the translation is so far forth somewhat conjectural.

to prevent his causing in secret some confusion, a thing he delighted to do. Then he angered the Council; for there were present most upright Councillors who had witnessed his most explicit and unconstrained withdrawal, and had refused to hand him over to the cruelty of the Emperor, helping themselves with my aid. The next day he was thrust back into prison and tortured. It is clear that the man had become a sport for demons, so he recanted not frankly as he had promised, nay he said that he entertained no other opinions than those taught by me, execrated the error and obstinacy of the Catabaptists, repeated this three times when stretched on the rack, and bewailed his misery and the wrath of God which in this affair was so unkind. Behold what wantonness! Than these men there is nothing more foolhardy, deceptive, infamous — for I cannot tell you what they devise in Abtzell—and shameless. To-morrow or next day the case will come up."[1]

Zwingli's reference to Abtzell, modern Appenzell, one of the Swiss cantons, as a hotbed of Baptists brought him into trouble, as the following letter to the people of Abtzell, February 12, 1526 (vii., 473) shows:

"Grace and peace from God to you, respected, honoured, wise, clement, gracious and beloved Masters: An exceedingly unfortunate affair has happened to me, in that I have been publicly accused before your worships of having reviled you in unseemly words and, be it said with all respect, of having called you heretics, my

[1] The novelty of this letter is its revelation of Hubmaier's torture. It supplements what is given in the letters beginning vii., 450, 452, 534.

gracious rulers of the State. I am so far from applying this name to you, that I should as soon think of calling heaven hell. For all my life I have thought and spoken of you in terms of praise and honour, gentlemen of Abtzell, as I do to-day, and, as God favours me, shall do to the end of my days. But it happened not long ago when I was preaching against the Catabaptists that I used these words: 'The Catabaptists are now doing so much mischief to the upright citizens of Abtzell and are showing so great insolence, that nothing could be more infamous.' You see, gentle sirs, with what modesty I grieved on your account, because the turbulent Catabaptists caused you so much trouble. Indeed I suspect that the Catabaptists are the very people who have set this sermon against me in circulation among you, for they do many of those things which do not become true Christians. Therefore, gentle and wise sirs, I beg most earnestly that you will have me exculpated before the whole community, and, if occasion arise, that you will have this letter read in public assembly. Sir, I assure you in the name of God our Saviour, in these perilous times you have never been out of my thoughts and my solicitous anxiety; and if in any way I shall be able to serve you I will spare no pains to do so. In addition to the fact that I never use such terms even against my enemies, let me say that it never entered my mind to apply such insulting epithets to you, pious and wise sirs. Sufficient of this. May God preserve you in safety, and may He put a curb on these unbridled falsehoods which are being scattered everywhere, which is an evidence of some great peril — and may He hold your worships and the whole state in the true faith of Christ! Take this letter of mine in good part, for I could not suffer that so base a falsehood against me should lie uncontradicted."

To Vadian, March 7, 1526 (vii., 477):

"It has been decreed this day by the Council of Two Hundred[1] that the leaders of the Catabaptists shall be cast into the Tower,[2] in which they formerly lay, and be allured by a bread and water diet until they either give up the ghost or surrender. It is also added that they who after this are immersed shall be submerged permanently: this decision is now published. Your father-in-law [Jacob Grebel, father of Conrad], the Senator, in vain implored mercy [for Conrad, who was one of the prisoners]. The incorrigible audacity of these men at first greatly grieved me, now it as greatly displeases me. I would rather that the newly rising Christianity should not be ushered in with a racket of this sort, but I am not God whom it thus pleases to make provision against evils that are to come, as He did when in olden time He slew with a sudden and fearful death Ananias who lied to Peter, so that He might cast out from us all daring to deceive, though there is nothing of which we are naturally such masters."

To Peter Gynoræus, August 31, 1526 (vii., 534):

"That Balthasar [Hubmaier] of whom I wrote a few things in an epistle has acted as follows among us: He escaped secretly from the town of Waldshut and came to

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[1] Egli, *A. S.*, 934.

[2] The new tower in Zurich, called the Witches' Tower. It rose above the city wall on the Great Minster side of the Limmat, between the two gates, Neumarkt and Niederdorf, which in the present city is in the neighbourhood of the Predigerkische; see Voegelin, *Das alte Zürich*, i., 426-428. The incarceration of the Baptists there caused it to be called the "Heretics' Tower."

the home of a widow at Zurich. When the Council learned it they supposed that he was hatching out some monstrosity, as do the rest of the Catabaptists, and that for this purpose he had crept secretly into the city. So they gave orders that he be arrested and kept under guard in the court house. After the third or fourth day (I do not know exactly which), they suddenly ordered Engelhard, Leo, Myconius, Sebastian [Hofmeister], Megander [Grossmann], myself and others to be present. When we had come certain of the Council who had been appointed for the purpose told us that Balthasar had sent letters to them in which he promised that he would vanquish Zwingli on the subject of baptism by his own writings. We proceeded to business. Then the blind fellow adduced what I had written about teaching catechumens some years ago in the book on the Sixty-seven Articles. For he did not know that it was our custom that the boys also as in former times be taught the rudiments of the faith. This he referred to baptism, rather indiscreetly; as if I had said that it was my counsel that the custom of not baptising infants be brought back again, when I had spoken of imbuing children in the elements of faith. When he saw that he had erred in this matter he was charming. We proceeded after much debate, in which he was unwilling to recognise that perpetual covenant. We came to Acts ii., from which I proved that the children of Christians were in the beginning reckoned as of the Church. When he had made many answers I was trying to bring him to a clear and definite reply to the question whether those children were in the Church or not. But I made every effort in vain. Then I confess frankly when I came to I. Cor., ii. 'All our fathers were baptised unto Moses, etc.,' and was coming to the point of compelling him to acknowl-

edge that children were included even though they were not expressly mentioned, and when he was unwilling to say whether or not they were — I confess that I went for the man rather vigorously. But yet only to the effect, that by his catabaptism he had drawn many wretched citizens into a revolt in which they had perished. But when he had endured this for a considerable time the man was confuted and overcome. He then took a new tack and demanded that he be granted an interview with Leo, Myconius, and Sebastian [Hofmeister] alone, in order that he might confer with them. The arrogant fellow hoped he would draw them over to his side by his soft-spoken ways. When he saw that this course did not succeed he made the demand a second time, and after many crafty tricks, he came to the point of saying that he would recant. The Council did not compel this, except in case he were unwilling to depart from the city. For it had made no severer provision against those who do not wish to desert the cause of catabaptism than that they should leave the city. Meanwhile the legates of the Emperor came with a demand for the man to carry him to punishment. He was denied them on the basis of the law which provides that no citizen shall be put on his defence on any other charge than that for which he had been arrested. Such was the sin of the Council against that man, they defended him from the demand of Cæsar just as though he were a citizen! And this aided, that he was in prison before he was in 'free guard.' However this may be, he was free when we came together and for some time after was guarded at the court house. Then a form of recantation was drawn up, not in accordance with any formula of the Council or of anyone, but by his own hand. And when he had read this in the church to which the name

Abbey is given,[1] and the address which I delivered to the people had been finished, he straightway denied the recantation in the presence of the whole assembly.

"He did this supposing that he had an opportunity of speaking, and then adduced much against the baptism of infants and in favour of catabaptism. Hence there was a persistent rumour (but I think it is speculation) that he was secretly prompted to do this so that some commotion might result; for they hoped that I would go away when my speech was delivered. He was cast anew into prison and was held there for a month longer. Then he finally declared that he was entirely ignorant of saying anything to vitiate his recantation; and if he said anything else than what he had promised he must have been possessed by a demon. He put together a new recantation. I went around to my friends with the request that they would obtain a merciful judgment from the Council. This was granted. When he offered to make a final statement it was decreed through pity that he should make an express disavowal and then should depart immediately from the territory. I then personally besought Engelhard, Leo, and Megander [Grossmann], my fellow-bishops, that they should intercede in company with me before the Council; for if he were driven out immediately after his disavowal, grave peril would threaten him both from our Swiss and from Cæsar. The Council listened to our request, and after the recantation, which he pretended he made heartily, whereas there could have been nothing less hearty, a space of time was given him to stay until there should be found an opportunity of sending him first in safety. And this came about through a

[1] The Minster of Our Lady (Fraumünster) on the opposite bank of the Limmat to the Great Minster. Hofmeister was people's priest there then.

certain member of the Council who is most faithful in the cause of Christ, and he was secretly sent away so that the citizens did not know of his departure. See, my Peter, with how great generosity we treated the fellow and with what treachery he responded. For as soon as he reached Constance he so calumniated me before the ministers of the Word and boasted of his victory that I do not know but he turned some of them against me. So unprepared are some for the detection of hypocrisy. We kept everything secret. When he went away he so worked on those good men's feelings that they gave him ten gold pieces. And yet either he or his wife had more gold than they had silver. Thus do they abuse our simple-mindedness who advance their own interests under the guise of piety. But that the man should so revile me is not to be wondered at, for he saw from the beginning that I abhorred him and his practices. I give the man credit for cleverness and studious moderation; but still I see in him (I trust I am mistaken) nothing more than an immoderate thirst for money and notoriety. Accordingly I am quite indifferent to what he may whisper about me into the ears of others. It is certain at any rate that he will act according to the saying in the comedy: 'It has not succeeded here, let us go elsewhere.' May the Omnipotent extinguish by celestial dew this desire for glory which glows in the hearts of some!"

Zwingli's first book on Baptism[1] was written in German for popular use and dedicated to the city of St. Gall. In the dedicatory introduction he

[1] II., 1, 230–303. See list, p. 248.

alludes to the origin of the Baptist party, to their principal tenets and to their treatment. The treatise is divided into four parts: 1. Baptism in general; 2. The initia or institution of Baptism; 3. Rebaptism; 4. Infant Baptism.

The discussion is prolix, but biblical and earnest. Much of it is directed at the Baptists. He confesses at the beginning that no amount of argument which he could bring to bear had any effect upon the Baptists,[1] except to make them more obstinate and contemptuous, which is not to be wondered at seeing it was accompanied by threats of punishment if they did not recant.

Towards the close he thus puts together the propositions he had attempted to prove. I. Baptism in general—1. The soul is cleansed by the grace of God and not by any external thing whatsoever. 2. Hence it follows that baptism cannot wash away sin. 3. But if it cannot while yet it is divinely instituted then it must be a sign of obedience, and nothing else. II. Infant Baptism—4. The children of Christians are not less the children of God than their parents are, or than the children in Old Testament times were: but if they belong to God who will refuse them water baptism? 5. Circumcision in the Old Testament was the same sign as baptism in the New; so as the former was applied to children of the one so should baptism be to those of the latter. III. Rebaptism—6. Rebaptism is neither taught anywhere in the Word of God, nor

[1] II., 1, 231 *sqq.*

can an example or proof of it be found therein; therefore those who practise rebaptism crucify Christ afresh either out of self-righteousness or in order to do something novel. After these propositions he gives the form of baptism used in the Zurich churches.

Two years later Zwingli wrote a Latin treatise on Baptism, primarily for the use of the pastors whose parishes had been invaded by the Baptists, but also in parts it is a direct reply to the Baptists themselves. It is important as giving his maturer thought and still more for its quotations, but its temper is bad and its style contemptuous. It betrays its animus in its title "Refutation of the Tricks of the Catabaptists."[1] This name Catabaptist (*i.e.*, drowner)[2] for the Baptists Zwingli and his admirers seemed to consider appropriate and in itself an unanswerable argument.

It is very noteworthy that in neither of these lengthy treatises nor in the quotations from Baptist writings in the second, is the question of

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[1] Printed by Christopher Froschauer, Zurich, 1527, 8vo, pp. 191; reprinted in volume with letter by Œcolampadius and Zwingli, edited by Bibliander (Basel), 8vo, 1548 (ii., 81b–113b), and in reprint of latter by Grynaeus (Basel), 1592, 12mo, pp. 371–520. In Zwingli's Works, iii., 358–437.

[2] It is traced to Gregory Nazianzen's Oration on Baptism, delivered in 381. In 536 a Constantinopolitan synod called the baptistery of heretics a *Katabaptisterion*, *i. e.*, the place where persons were so dipped that they were drowned. See Sophocles, *Lexicon*, *sub voce*. Equally opprobrious is the term Anabaptist applied to the Baptist party, *i. e.*, those who baptised again in years of discretion those previously baptised in infancy. But the Baptists denied

immersion or sprinkling even so much as touched upon. The primitive Baptists attacked infant baptism. They considered it of minor consequence whether the water in baptism was a drop or a deluge.

The book appeared Wednesday, July 31, 1527, just about the time that Zurich had invited Bern, Schaffhausen, Chur, and St. Gall to send delegates to a disputation on the Baptists to be held on Friday, August 2d, and in the letter had informed them that as the result of a disputation held among themselves it was determined to punish those administering immersion with submersion, *i. e.*, drowning, and other less offending members of the Baptist party with scourging or other punishments, according to their guilt; that still the heresy was on the increase; and that it was not merely religiously but morally subversive. A monitory letter was sent to Constance and Augsburg also that they should beware of Denk, who was visiting "Catabaptists" within and without their walls.[1]

On September 9, 1527, Zurich, Bern, and St. Gall published an edict, in which for the first time the alleged errors and crimes of the Baptist party are set forth[2]; viz.:

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that they did this; rather they affirmed that the use of water in the name of the Trinity over a babe was no baptism at all, and hence that they did not *rebaptise* anyone. They administered true baptism for the first time to those who after confession of faith desired the rite.

[1] III., 357.

[2] The edict is given in full in German in Simler's *Sammlung*

"They seduce men from the congregations of the orthodox teachers and assail the public preachers with abuse; they babble in corners, woods, and fields; contract spiritual marriages, thereby giving occasion for adulteries; even command crime in the name of the Lord, *e. g.*, the parricide at St. Gall; glory in divine revelations and miracles; teach that the Devil will be saved, and that in their church one could indulge lust without crime; had other signs of the covenant aside from catabaptism; would not carry swords; pronounced usury and the lot wicked; would have all external goods common and deposited in the midst of them, so that no one could use them as his own peculiar right; forbade Christians to accept the magistracy or to say an oath was proper. In order that this growth, dangerous to Christianity, wicked, harmful, turbulent, seditious, may be eradicated, we have thus decreed: if any one is suspected of catabaptism he is to be warned by the magistracy to leave off, under penalty of the designated punishment. Individuals as the civil contract obliges should inform upon those favourable to catabaptism. Whoever shall not fit his conduct to this dissuasion is liable to punishment according to the sentence of the magistracy and as special business; teachers, baptising preachers, itinerants and leaders of conventicles, or those previously released from prison and who have sworn to desist from such things, are to be drowned. Foreigners, their faith being pledged, are to be driven out, if they return are to be drowned. No one is allowed to secede from the Church and absent himself from the Holy Supper. Men led into the error by fraud may receive a mitigation of

alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengeschichte vornemlich des Schweizer-Landes (i., 2, 449-458). The summary in Zwingli's Works (iii., 357–358) is here used.

ZURICH, FROM QUAY BRIDGE.

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their punishment in proportion to their property and standing. Whoever flees from one jurisdiction to another shall be banished or given up on demand."

It was then in view of this legislation that Zwingli produced his "Refutation," and it was intended to be final. It is in the form of verbal quotation from witness accepted by the Baptists with a reply.

In Part I. he thus quotes a treatise, written probably by Conrad Grebel, which was much admired and read among the Zurich Baptists, and in which Zwingli is set forth as supporting more or less heartily all their tenets. Zwingli pleaded that he was misunderstood, misquoted, and intentionally slandered, and his ruffled spirits are the only justification of the treatment he gave the Baptists. But his refutation is prolix, abusive, and weak. He accuses the Baptists of hypocrisy and immorality and quotes instances. As Zwingli was an honest man and had exceptional sources of information, what he says cannot be pooh-poohed.[1] Rather is it likely that the persecutions of the Baptists had increased the tendency to fanaticism and insubordination among the ignorant membership so recently emancipated from Roman Catholic superstition, and so liberty was occasionally turned into licence and the confidence of some women in the supposed holiness of these Baptist saints, who claimed to be the proper rulers of mankind, was abused. But that the sect was corrupt or hypocritical is a charge

[1] See the direct charges posited on personal knowledge (iii., 382 *sq.*).

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which refutes itself. And even if it were true, the modern Baptists are not responsible for the doings of their religious forbears.

In Part II. Zwingli treats in the same fashion, quoting verbally and refuting, the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Bernese Baptists. The Confession was not published, but was widely circulated in manuscript among the Baptists. It bore the title "Articles which we have drawn up and to which we agree, viz., Baptism; Excommunication; Breaking of Bread; Avoidance of abominable pastors in the Church; the Sword; the Oath."

Zwingli treats the Confession with great scorn and attempts its refutation in a bad spirit. He addresses himself directly to the Baptists, in most cases. And yet the Confession is witness to the fact that the excesses and occasional immoralities of the sect were dire contradictions to its pure and lofty principles. Blind to this, Zwingli repeats again the injurious remarks on the morals of the Baptists because he believed they were abundantly justified and he was dealing with a party which he regarded as a danger to Church and State. Take especially the quoted teaching of the Confession respecting the Sword, *i. e.*, civil authority, and against the use of the oath. In this connection he tells in a jeering manner the shameful story of the infamous treatment accorded poor Blaurock in this paragraph[1]:

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[1] III., 412, 413.

"(8) They rightly admonish us that Christ taught that our speech should be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay; yet they do not seem to me to understand it clearly, or if they do understand it to obey it. For though in many places they should often have said Yea, it has never been Yea. When those leaders were banished, against whom we wrote as best we could, and asked for an oath they would not reply except to the effect that through the faith which they had in God they knew they would never return, and yet they soon returned. 'The Father,' each said, 'led me back through His will.' I know very well that it was the father — of lies who led them back; but they pretend to know it was the Heavenly Father. Here is something worth telling: When that George (whom they all call a second Paul) of the House of Jacob [Blaurock], was cudgelled with rods among us even to the infernal gate and was asked by an officer of the Council to take oath and lift up his hands [in affirmation], he at first refused, as he had often done before and had persisted in doing. Indeed he had always said that he would rather die than take an oath. The officer of the Council then ordered him forthwith to lift his hands and make oath at once, 'or do you, policemen,' he said, 'lead him to prison.' But now persuaded by rods this George of the House of Jacob raised his hand to heaven and followed the magistrate in the recitation of the oath. So here you have the question confronting you, Catabaptists, whether that Paul of yours did or did not transgress the law. The law forbids to swear about the least thing: he swore, so he transgressed the law. Hence this knot is knit: You would be separated from the world, from lies, from those who walk not according to the resurrection of Christ but in dead works? How then is it that you have not excommunicated that Apos-

tate? Your Yea is not Yea with you nor your Nay, Nay, but the contrary; your Yea is Nay and your Nay, Yea. You follow neither Christ nor your own constitution." [1]

Part III. is subdivided: (a) The two covenants. That which God made with Israel included infants. Circumcision was the external sign of this covenant. Christians are the heirs of Israel; with them He has made a new covenant, in which the children are included, of which baptism is the external sign. (b) Election, which Zwingli says is above baptism, circumcision, faith and preaching. (c) That the Apostles baptised infants.

These three parts are followed by a brief but most interesting appendix, in which he taxes the Baptists with teaching (1) the sleep of the soul; (2) the salvation of the devil and of all the wicked; (3) the right of Christians universally to exercise the office of preacher; (4) the right occasionally to deny Scripture and follow the inner revelation of the Spirit. These errors he curtly refutes.

After this Zwingli wrote nothing of great length against the Baptists. His last published utterance was in reply to the questions of Caspar Schwenckfeld.[2] In it he developed further his idea of the relation of election to baptism, which was apparently this: by election God secured the salvation of some. Children of Christians belong by birth to the visible Church, but this Church includes both the elect and

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[1] Can anything be more contemptible than this gloating over a poor tortured wretch?

[2] In Latin, iii., 563–588.

the rejected. As no one can determine which is which, it would be an injustice to refuse any such child baptism, which is the outward sign of election. But baptism is only a sign of grace and does not confer it.

In consequence of the cruel treatment they received, the Baptists after a time ceased to exist in the canton of Zurich except in very small and scattered gatherings. Zwingli's attacks upon them were greatly admired by his fellow religionists in and outside of Zurich. They found no fault with his harsh and cruel jibes, his exaggerated tales and coarse anecdotes. They did not mind his prolixity. As for his arguments, they considered them unanswerable.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FINAL STAGE OF THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION

1524–1529

THE years of Zwingli's life from 1524 to 1529 may properly receive comparatively brief mention. They were very busy, interesting, and even exciting for him, but not so important as the former years. The work of breaking with the Old Church had been completed: only the adjustment of the churches of the canton of Zurich to the new state of things, the defence of their faith and polity against all comers — restless peasants, more determined Baptists, Lutherans, and adherents of the Old Church — remained. But the students of systematic theology, of ecclesiastical polity, and of liturgies may consider these closing years of Zwingli's life his more fruitful years. The ordinary reader desires to know what was actually done during this period and may be told in a few pages, the peasant and Baptist troubles having been separately treated in the preceding chapter. The successive topics which claimed Zwingli's attention are brought out in his correspondence.

On January 14, 1525,[1] he felt called upon to write a very eloquent epistle to the Dreibund, the magis-

[1] VII., 380–383; Latin trans., 378–380.

tracy of Rhætia, the modern canton of the Grisons, in which the Reformation had begun to make headway, urging these gentlemen to protect those who professed it, and also defending himself and fellow Zurichers against the charge of sedition. He appeals to them to state if it is not true that the Church of Rome is hopelessly corrupt and grasping.

The next day the City Councils issued an important order respecting the public relief of the poor and sick. Some of the regulations are singular; as, for instance, requiring church-going on the part of beneficiaries and, more objectionably, to wear a distinctive badge, thereby publishing their condition. It was not to be expected that the Zurich City Fathers in the sixteenth century should make any approach to scientific charity, with its exact registration and rigid investigation of the applicants, and which demands that there shall not be any public outdoor relief. The Zurich Councillors, however, honestly endeavoured to distinguish between the applicants, sorting out first the genuine Zurichers from the strangers, and then among the Zurichers giving alms as far as possible only to those who through no fault were in need.[1]

Another important piece of internal regulation, viz., relative to marriage and divorce, inspired and formulated by Zwingli,[2] was passed by the Councils on May 10, 1525.[3] Briefly, marriages were usually

[1] See the ordinance in Egli, *A. S.*, 619; in modern German in Mörikofer, i., 252–255.

[2] II., 2, 356–359.

[3] Egli, *A. S.*, 711; in modern German in Mörikofer, i., 260–262.

to be public, in churches, and with the consent of parents or guardians. Even though the discovery should soon be made that the parties were unfitted for living together, still they are to live together for a year, and then they may be divorced. Divorces may be granted for other causes. Adultery is a crime to be severely punished by the authorities. So also seduction and like offences when marriage cannot be arranged. Those who commit adultery hoping thereby to secure a divorce and so be free to contract another marriage, or to live unchastely, were to be excommunicated and for ever banished. By thus claiming for Zurich the adjudication of the matrimonial cases the break with the past was still further emphasised, as formerly all such cases came to the episcopal court in Constance.

On June 30, 1525, he published his book on the office of the preacher, with a dedication to his fellow Toggenburgers.[1] It was really directed against the Baptists, who claimed that all the Lord's people were prophets.

In September, 1525, Zwingli's windows were broken by two drunken fellows; but the offence was magnified until it seemed as if Zwingli's life were in danger, because underneath the drunken conduct was deep hatred of Zwingli's teaching. But that so trivial an offence should have caused such a stir is a plain indication that Zwingli lived a very quiet and secure life.[2]

On October 28th, Zwingli, under the pen-name of

[1] II., 1, 304–336; in modern German by Christoffel, Zürich, 1843.
[2] VII., 409–412.

"A certain Frenchman," addressed a long letter to "A citizen of Basel," in criticism of Erasmus's view on the Eucharist.[1] In March, 1525, Zwingli published his "Commentary on the True and False Religion,"[2] which goes over in a series of chapters all the points of evangelical theology. He wrote it, he says in three and one half months, in Latin, for general circulation, especially in France, thus redeeming his promise to French friends: and so he dedicated it to King Francis I. It resembles the exposition of the sixty-seven theses already mentioned. The part on the Lord's Supper was separately issued in a German translation. It was of this book that Erasmus made his famous patronising remark: "Oh, good Zwingli, what have you written which I did not write myself long before!"[3]

On April 14, 1525, Zwingli was chosen rector of the Carolinum, the Great Minster school; consequently he moved into the official residence of the rector, and lived there until death.[4] He used his

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[1] VII., 427–432. Œcolampadius, to whom very likely it was sent, praises it (vii., 432).

[2] III., 147–325. Herminyard reprints a part of the dedication in a French translation, in his *Correspondance des Reformateurs* (2d ed., Geneva, 1878), i., pp. 350, 351.

[3] VII., 399.

[4] This is the house which contains the present Zwingli room, upon the second story, shown to travellers. It is on the Kirch Gasse, on the left hand as one goes up the street from the Great Minster, and near the corner of the cathedral close. On it is the inscription: "Zwingli's official residence. From this house he went forth on October 11, 1531, with the Zurich troops to Cappel, where he died for his faith." The room in it called his study and the adjoining

new position to improve the schools and took part himself in the biblical instruction, which he had made part of the curriculum. That he was still fond of humanistic studies and had not forgotten his Greek amid all his absorbing labours, he demonstrated by issuing on February 24, 1526, in Basel, an edition of the poems of Pindar.[1]

In 1526 a public disputation was held between the representatives of the Bishop of Constance and of the Reformed upon matters of faith. The place chosen was Baden, a famous watering-place, only twelve miles north-west of Zurich, but in the hands of the bitterest partisans of the Roman Church. Under the semblance of fairness and impartiality the object of the disputation was really to condemn Zwingli and Zurich for their opposition to the Roman Church, and considering the character of the crowd who would there assemble, it was more than doubtful if Zwingli would have escaped personal violence if he had ventured thither.[2] As it was, though urged, he declined to go.

The disputation at Baden was the Old Church's reply to the Zurich disputations of 1523. The conditions were exactly reversed. The friends of the Reformation packed the former, the opponents of it the latter. The immediate occasion of it was

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room called his bedroom may be, as claimed, the same as they were in his day, but the rest of the house, as is the case with the other Zwingli houses, has been reconstructed.

[1] His Latin preface and epilogue are given in iv., 159–166.

[2] So his brother-in-law, Tremp, warned him from Bern not to venture thither, as he had heard alarming reports (vii., 483).

John Eck's offer from Ingolstadt to the Swiss Diet at Baden, on August 13, 1524, to refute Zwingli's heresies in a public disputation.[1] The challenge was communicated to Zwingli, and he replied to this on August 31st, in the insulting language he thought proper to use towards his Roman Catholic opponents, offering to debate with Eck in Zurich.[2] Eck replied very dignifiedly that he would meet Zwingli at Baden or Luzern, provided he had proper safe conduct. He shows much better spirit than Zwingli.[3] The letter having been sent to the Zurich authorities, Zwingli replied that he would dispute in Zurich, and his reply appeared in print.[4] And on the same day, November 6, 1524, the Great Council invited Eck to Zurich and sent him a safe conduct.[5] But he declined to come, simply because the place for the proposed disputation was to be decided by the cantonal assembly and he would meet Zwingli there. On November 18th he replied at length to Zwingli's latest attack.

In 1525 the project of the disputation was revived. The Bishop of Constance chose Baden as the place. Zwingli declared his willingness, if necessary, to go to Schaffhausen or St. Gall, but the city Great Council refused him permission to go out of Zurich. The Diet at Luzern, on January 15, 1526, determined on Baden as the place and May 16, 1526, as the time. Zwingli's correspondence of 1526 shows clearly the course of events. After the disputation

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[1] II., 2, 399, 400. [2] II., 2, 400–403. [3] II., 2, 403–405.
[4] II., 2, 411–414. [5] Bullinger, i., 334 *sqq.*

was determined upon there was uncertainty in regard to the place. Bern favoured Basel. Other cantons wanted Luzern. Œcolampadius naturally preferred Bern. Zwingli did not want to go out of Zurich.[1] Perhaps his physical condition had something to do with it. Œcolampadius, on March 7, 1526, alluded to his having ulcers.[2] Zwingli himself, writing to Vadianus on Friday, March 30th,[3] tells of an alarming attack of illness which had occurred that day. On April 16, 1526, Zwingli wrote a long letter[4] to the City Council of Bern giving his reasons why he would not go to Baden for the disputation, although anxious to debate in such a presence. The nine reasons amount to this—that the safe conduct and protection which Bern promised were really valueless under the circumstances because at Baden the Five Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern, and Zug, devoted to the old teaching, would outvote the other three cantons of Zurich, Bern, and Basel, devoted to the new. He then proceeds to give his reasons for declining to go to any place where the Five Cantons had control. 1. Those cantons had condemned him unheard as a heretic and burnt his books. 2. They still persist in doing so. 3. They have avowedly gotten up the disputation for the purpose of silencing him. 4. As they have ordered him arrested, contrary to federal law, what value would their safe conduct have? 5. They are bound by mutual

[1] VII., 476. [2] VII., 479. [3] VII., 484.
[4] VII., 493–496; also in the original German, pp. 496–499.

vows to uproot the faith he professed. 6. Their negotiations for the disputation were with Eck and Faber exclusively, not with him, he not being in any way consulted. 7. While Eck's and Faber's writings are freely circulated in the Five Cantons, his were suppressed. 8. He had two years before plainly told Eck and company that under no consideration would he go to Baden or Luzern.

Very naturally the Five Cantons insisted upon Baden.

On April 21, 1526, Zwingli addressed "A friendly letter to the confederates of the Twelve Cantons and their allies, upon the disputation which is projected at Baden on the 16th of May." [1] He read it before the Council and then sent it in in printed form. It gives his reasons for declining to go to Baden. The next day in writing to Vadianus he says:

"Even if I agreed to Baden, the people of Zurich would not consent. A great part of the Council were not very well pleased because I offered to go to Bern or St. Gall. It would seem wise for you to agree to reply to the opposing cantons somewhat as follows: That you had been at the disputations at Zurich, that there they are sufficiently learned and had no need of further disputations, etc., unless other places were selected." [2]

Probably shortly after he had despatched this letter he received an open one from Faber,[3] his former friend, dated Tuebingen, April 16th, in which

[1] II., 2, 424–429. [2] VII., 500. [3] II., 2, 429–436.

he was vigorously handled as a heretic. Zwingli took it up almost clause by clause for refutation, on April 30th, and again on May 15th.[1] The nine cantons renewed their request for his presence but the Council refused it at the Diet at Baden held on May 10th, and to which they sent a delegation. Zwingli wrote at the same time. Thus the matter was discussed back and forth. But without altering the determination on either side and the disputation finally opened at Baden, on Monday, May 21st, in the absence of Zwingli.[2]

On the Old Church side the principal champion was John Eck, who really was a skilful and learned disputant, and who had, as he and the Old Church party believed, won such a notable victory over Luther at Leipzig in 1518; on the side of the Zwinglian party Œcolampadius, of Basel, Haller, of Bern, and Oechsli, of Schaffhausen, carried on the debate. Zwingli was kept constantly informed of the proceedings and constantly aided his repre-

[1] II., 2, 436–453, 467–484. In his letter to Vadianus on May 11th (vii., 503), he says: "Faber has written against my former epistle in which I set forth my refusal to go to Baden. There I find the man far funnier than before. . . . If the Disputation at Baden does anything that opposes the Word of God, the people are not willing to receive in regard to it either propositions or commands. They will cherish the treaties honourably. If violence be offered to Zurich or any of the cantons, they will furnish aid to the wronged. In the government of the provinces they will follow this rule, not to sit when Zurich is not represented. . . . The Council refuses me to the Disputation at Baden. I have written a frank but kindly letter to the Diet" (*cf.* ii., 2, 455–459).

[2] The papers connected with this Diet at Baden are collected (ii., 2, 398–520). They are all in German.

sentatives by suggestions and every other way he could.[1]

The debate lasted four weeks, or till June 18th. Both sides, as usual, claimed the victory. The acts were published in full at Luzern on May 18, 1527, which probably was not too long a delay, although made a cause of complaint and construed as a confession of defeat by the Zwingli party.[2]

On July 2, 1526,[3] Zwingli wrote a long and earnest letter, which is almost a treatise, to Nuremberg because his and Œcolampadius's writings had been prohibited there, and therein took occasion to express himself very plainly upon his theology of the Eucharist, mainly in reply to Pirkheimer.[4]

[1] The Zwingli correspondence enables us to get a vivid picture of the debate. It shows that down to May 21st, Œcolampadius tried to have the place changed and that he recognised the peril Zwingli would have been in by going to Baden, notwithstanding the emphatic and reiterated promise of safe conduct. But then, as he says, he was in peril too. The fact is, Zwingli's absence was deplored by his friends. Myconius, writing years afterward, says: "Zwingli laboured more in running about, cogitating, watching, counselling, warning, writing both letters and books which he sent to Baden, than he would have done had he taken part in the Disputation or been in the midst of his foes, particularly against a chief so unskilled in the truth. Still I have for my part desired nothing more earnestly than that he had been permitted to take part personally" (p. 10).

[2] An incomplete report was published in July of the year before (vii., 524). Œcolampadius sent Zwingli on October 18, 1526, a summary of the contents of the official report, which had been carefully edited to put the Reformed at a disadvantage (vii., 553). Zwingli told the Strassburgers in December, 1526 (vii., 578) that signature G of it had been seized when on its way from Murner to the Suffragan Bishop of Constance.

[3] VIII., 656-662.

[4] On July 17th a friend told him that his and Œcolampadius's writings would not be sold at Nuremberg under heavy penalty (vii., 526).

In the latter part of the year Zwingli watched the politics of his neighbours with keen interest, but with the advancement of the Gospel interests ever in view. On August 31, 1526,[1] he wrote a very gossipy letter full of information, telling how Eck used at Baden the Complutensian Polyglot, which had the Latin version side by side with the Hebrew and the Greek, and so by apparently reading unaided from the Hebrew and Greek got a reputation for learning he did not deserve; and how poor Balthasar Hubmaier, in his examination before the Council, quoted Zwingli's remarks about catechumens, as showing his former preference to have baptism follow instruction[2]; how he recanted and then withdrew his recantation; and how generously Zwingli treated him, and how basely Hubmaier reviled him when escaped from the city. He closes with some slighting remarks upon Luther: "I think you are too solicitous in the matter of that man who is said to be writing against me in German and Latin on the Eucharist. In nothing do I promise myself a more certain victory."

On September 17, 1526,[3] he complained of being sick. On October 29th,[4] he confesses to personal acquaintance with the gravel. On November 29th,[5] he tells of the execution of Jacob Grebel, the father of Conrad, for treason, and of his wrong-doing towards his son's wife; that his (Zwingli's) book against Dr. Jacob Strauss would be out before Christmas, and that he had not yet begun his reply

[1] VII., 534–538. [2] See p. 246. [3] VII., 538.
[4] VII., 556. [5] VII., 565.

to Luther, but would have it ready for the Frankfort Fair.[1] In a letter which was "written at Zurich in the hour which precedes the eclipse (since we are measuring all by the moon), 1526," consequently on Tuesday, December 18th,[2] he mentions that the Acts of the Disputation at Baden were passing through the press and would have a very partisan preface; that he had prepared a catechism for boys[3]; that he had finished his reply to Dr. Jacob Strauss upon the Lord's Supper, but it was not yet in type,[4] and says again that the expostulation with Luther upon the same subject would be ready for the Frankfort Fair.[5]

Zwingli in January, 1527, wrote to the Bernese delegates at Baden to secure an authentic copy of the report of the Baden disputation of the previous summer and also proposed another disputation at Zurich, Bern, Basel, or St. Gall. On January 11th, he issued his reply to Dr. Jacob Strauss upon the

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[1] So in letter of Dec. 18th.

[2] VII., 578–579. For the information that this was the date of the eclipse and that it was total at Zurich I am indebted to Professor Harold Jacoby, of Columbia University, New York City.

[3] This was not printed till 1544.

[4] It appeared on January 11, 1527.

[5] It appeared February 28, 1527. See p. 298. The Frankfort Fair was the great book mart. Zwingli, like Luther, made nothing from his publications. In which respect he resembled most modern authors, only he expected nothing! He once wrote to Vadianus (May 28, 1525, vii., 398): "There was a man lately who said that I sold copies to the printers at a high price. That man lied against the Holy Spirit. It must not be permitted therefore that this can be said with truth. I ask nothing than that they commend me to the Lord Jesus Christ."

Lord's Supper,[1] and on the same day wrote to Philip, Marquis of Baden, in Germany,[2] in whose territory Strauss lived, commending his book against Strauss to the Marquis's attention. On January 25th, he announces the coming conference between Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall.[3] On February 12th, in speaking of his books written and in preparation, he says that his *Archeteles* was full of printing errors; but he had no more copies to give away; that he would send the printer his "Exegesis" for Luther in twelve days. "This is friendly in tone, except that I have dealt a little sharply with the Swabian scribes."[4] On February 28th, he published his "Friendly Exegesis," and accompanied it with an open letter to Luther,[5] which Luther pronounced "fierce." On March 30th, he issued a "Friendly defence and deprecation of the sermon of the excellent Martin Luther preached in Wittenberg against the Fanatics, and to defend the reality of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament."[6] This was really an attack upon Luther, and two days later he follows it up with another letter[7] full of insinuations and exceedingly riling, and stirred Luther up as no other attack had done, as Luther's correspondence abundantly shows.[8]

The fact was that Zwingli and Luther could by no possibility be friends. Each was a pope in his way, only Luther ruled a nation and Zwingli a city.

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[1] II., 1, 469–506.
[2] VIII., 2.
[3] VIII., 20–22.
[4] VIII., 28.
[5] III., 459–462.
[6] II., 2, 1–15.
[7] VIII., 39–41.
[8] See the extracts given (viii., 41).

Each was absolutely sure of himself and that he had found out the truth. Each had no belief in the honesty or capacity of those who differed from him. Zwingli was jealous of Luther because he was so much more famous, and in his letters to him attempts to patronise him. Luther considered Zwingli a heretic. He compared him with Arius! Manifestly the best thing for both parties was to attempt no contact. Instead of doing so they carried on directly and indirectly a protracted and abusive controversy, disgraceful to both of them. What they both needed was good breeding. Their unhappy controversy was discreditable to both of them.' Its practical effect was to divide and so weaken Protestantism.

On April 30th, he alludes to the many persons who had made Zurich a place of refuge.[2] On May 22d, he affirms the validity of Roman Catholic baptism:

"For even though there be things diabolic in papal baptism yet they cannot nullify the Lord's words, 'I baptise thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'; so that it should not be true baptism; unless we are prepared to say, that the devil or the Roman Pontiff is stronger than the Lord."[3]

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[1] Zwingli's final conclusions on the matter appear in his Confession of Faith in the Appendix to this volume. Beginning on August 29, 1528, when he issued his *Epichiresis* (iii., 83–116) upon the canon of the mass down to August 31, 1527, when he replied to Luther's "Confession" (ii., 2, 94–223), he published sixteen pieces, mostly of some length, upon the Lord's Supper. His correspondence for the latter years of his life is also full of allusions to the matter.

[2] VIII., 57.

[3] VIII., 71.

On October 11th, he mentions that thirteen hundred florins used to be taken in yearly in the Great Minster for sacerdotal offices and celebration of the mass for the dead.[1]

In the latter part of 1527 Zwingli's thoughts took a new turn. The Reformation had made great headway in Bern, and the Bernese City Council, in imitation of that of Zurich, resolved on Sunday, November 17th, to hold a disputation in which the Word of God alone could be appealed to as sole authority for teachings respecting religion. The bishops of Constance, Basel, Lausanne, and Wallis and delegates from all the cantons were invited. The Zurich Council agreed to accept the invitation, December 7th.[2] Zwingli asked formal permission for himself and other scholars to go,[3] and the Council's formal affirmative answer was passed December 11th. On December 15th, Zwingli was able to announce to Œcolampadius that all the preliminaries were then arranged.[4] On December 27, 1527, he sent a dignified letter to the Ulm City Council proposing to meet John Eck, who had slandered his dear friend, their pastor, Conrad Som, also Œcolampadius, and himself, in Ulm, Memmingen, Constance, or Lindau.[5]

By invitation of the Zurich Council delegates from Schaffhausen, St. Gall, and Constance to the Bern disputation assembled in Zurich on January 1st, and so when the start was made the next day, which was Tuesday, there was quite an imposing array of

[1] VIII., 102. [2] II., 3, 16–17; *cf.* Egli, *A. S.*, 1330.
[3] VIII., 119. [4] VIII., 125. [5] VIII., 131.

BERN CATHEDRAL.

ecclesiastics and other citizens, nearly one hundred in all; yet lest evil befall them it was accompanied by three hundred armed men to the borders of Bern. After that there was no danger. They entered Bern on January 4th. Zwingli and the burgomaster of Zurich, Diethelm Roeust, put up at the hospice, which was directly opposite to the gate of the city. Zwingli's brother-in-law, Leonhard Tremp, was master of the hospice and a City Councillor.[1] Zwingli was easily the most distinguished man in the disputation, but the Roman Catholic theologians were conspicuous by their absence. They had of course no more desire than Zwingli had to talk to deaf ears or to expose themselves to insult and possible physical violence. It was the fashion of the day to ridicule intellectual opponents and attribute everything bad to them, nor has the fashion passed away.

The "Acts of the Disputation" were published by Christopher Froschauer — the Zurich printer who published Zwingli's writings — on April 23, 1528.[2] It opens with the Bernese magistrates' call to the disputation, covering six pages and dated "Sunday, the 17th day of the Winter month" (which in the Swiss calendar is November), 1527. The date set for the beginning of the disputation was the first Sunday of the new year, which came on January 5th. Then come the ten theses for debate prepared, with Zwingli's assistance, by the local Reformers Kolb and Haller, viz.[3]:

[1] VIII., 123.

[2] It is an 18mo, 34 signatures of 16 pages each, or 544 in all. It is reprinted ii., 1, 63–200. *Cf.* Zwingli's letter of March 7th., quoted on page 306.

[3] II., 1, 76, 77.

"I. The Holy Christian Church, whose sole Head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, is animated by it, and hears not the voice of a stranger. II. The Church of Christ makes no addition to the law and ordinance of the Word of God. Consequently all human deliverances, as the Church ordinances are called, are not binding upon us except so far as they are grounded on and ordained by the Word of God. III. Christ is our sole wisdom, righteousness, Saviour, and Redeemer for all the sin of the world. Consequently to confess another service of the saints and satisfaction for sin is to deny Christ. IV. That the Body and Blood of Christ are substantially and corporally received in the bread of the Eucharist cannot be proved from the Bible. V. The mass now in use wherein Christ is offered to God, the Father, for the sins of the living and dead is contrary to Scripture; to make a sacrifice to the Almighty out of the sufferings of the immortal Christ is a blasphemy and on account of the misuse of it an abomination in the sight of God. VI. As Christ died for us only, so He should be appealed to as the only mediator and intercessor between God the Father and us believers, consequently all other mediators and intercessors besides now appealed to are to be repudiated by us on the ground of Scripture. VII. That after this time no purgatory will be found taught in the Scriptures. Consequently all services for the dead as vigils, requiems, soul-graces, sevens, spiritual consolations, anniversaries, ampullæ, candles, and such like are vain. VIII. Making pictures for worship is contrary to the Word of God in the New and Old Testaments. Consequently wherever they are so placed as to be in danger of worship they should be removed. IX. Holy marriage is in the Scripture forbidden to no class, but harlotry and unchastity all classes are commanded

to avoid. X. Since an openly immoral woman is under a heavy ban according to the Scripture, it follows that harlotry and unchastity on account of the scandal of it are in no class more shameful than in the priesthood."

Next comes the brief preface stating that the Acts had been copied carefully from the four original books of the notaries; the arrangements for the Disputation and the Acts themselves. The first formal session was on Monday afternoon, January 6th, in the church of the Barefoot monks, *i. e.*, the Franciscans, before a large audience. The presidents were Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), of St. Gall, Nicholas Briefer, provost of St. Peter's at Basel, and Conrad Schmid, comtur of Kuessnacht, in the canton of Zurich; and the first session was consumed in getting ready for the disputation which began Tuesday morning, and was opened by an address by Vadianus. Francis Kolb then read the first thesis and proceeded to defend it, and so the disputation commenced. The daily sessions began at 7 A.M. and 1 P.M. The Old Church was not represented by anyone of much prominence, and there was scarcely any more general debate than in the Zurich disputations. Zwingli spoke first on Wednesday, and at first took only a modest part. The disputation was closed on Sunday, January 26th, and of course the City Council declared the Reformed the winners, and having already gone a long way in that direction before the disputation began, completed the introduction of the Reformation into the city of Bern by abolishing

the mass and Church images on Monday, January 27th.[1]

Shortly after his arrival in Bern, Zwingli heard that his wife had, on January 6th, borne him a son, whom he afterwards called Huldreich. So he sent her this letter,[2] written doubtless in German, unfortunately the only one of his to his wife which has been preserved; in which he gives several commissions and says enough to rouse his wife's jealousy:

"Grace and peace from God. My dear wife, I thank God that He has granted you so joyful a delivery. He will grant us to bring the child up according to His will. Send to my cousin one or two coifs of the same quality and style as those you wear yourself. She dresses as a woman of her station should, but not like a Beguine,[3] is a married woman of forty, in all style and quality[4] such a one as Master Jörgen's wife has described. She has been beyond measure kind to me and to us all.

"May God take care of you! Remember me to godmother wife of the administrator; to Ulmann Trinckler and the wife of magistrate Effinger[5]; and to all whom you love. Pray God for me and us all. Given at Bern,

[1] VIII., 138.

[2] VIII., 134. But more correctly deciphered in *Theol. Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, i., 191.

[3] Zwingli made a rhyme here, "sy kumpt *zimmilich* doch nit *begynlich*." The Beguines were a secular order of pious women whose vows resembled a nun's, but were not irrevocable.

[4] Zwingli used the same words to describe his cousin and the coif, only he reverses their order.

[5] The first named was the sponsor of Zwingli's eldest son Wilhelm; Anna Keller, wife of the administrator of the Oetenbach nunnery; the last two the sponsors of Huldreich, the child just born, Ulmann Trinckler and Elizabeth Effinger.

eleventh day of January. Remember me to all your children; especially Margaretha,[1] whom comfort in my name.

"Huldreich Zwingli,
"Your husband.

"Send me as soon as possible my housecoat."

Zwingli preached a couple of times in Bern, on January 19th and 30th.[2]

In connection with the first sermon Bullinger tells this story:

"When Zwingli was about to preach a priest was at an altar and put on his vestments to say a mass. But when Zwingli began to preach he stood still with the mass articles before him until the sermon was over. But Zwingli said in this sermon many powerful things against the mass; which so stirred the priest all attired as he was, that at the end of the sermon he drew off his pointed dress indignantly, threw it upon the altar, and said so that all bystanders easily heard it: 'If the mass takes that shape, then I 'll not to-day or at any time in the future hold mass.'"[3]

Zwingli and his friends started for home on January 31st, and arrived there safely the next day, again under military escort. On March 7th, he wrote thus of the disputation[4]:

[1] Margaretha was his wife's eldest daughter, born in 1505. See p. 232.

[2] II., 1, 203–229; translated into modern German; the first by Sigwart, *Die vier Reformatoren*, pp. 381–406; the second by Kesselmann, *Buch der Predigten*, pp. 689–692.

[3] Bullinger, i., 436.

[4] VIII., 146.

"Althamer is spreading around his tremendous falsehoods — that free speech was not permitted and that he debated against his will because of the challenge of Francis Kolb. Yet we all know that to them and especially to him was accorded the greatest freedom, and that he cheerfully and willingly suffered himself to be selected by his party to perform the duty of the speaker on the platform. But what remains to the vanquished except grief? The proceedings of the disputation are being diligently and carefully printed: thirty-four pages are at this time completed and perhaps twenty or more are to come.[1] The secretary from Thun, Eberhard von Rumlary, who was one of the scribes, is superintending, etc."

On April 8th, he published his plan for the first synod, which was held at Zurich on Tuesday, April 21st, for the purpose of enforcing uniformity of doctrine and correctness in living on the Zurich city and cantonal clergy.[2] Zwingli acted as censor, but the call was in the name of the City Council, and the examination was held before a delegation from it. A similar gathering under the same auspices and for the same purposes was held of the canons and remaining orders of clergy on May 19th.[3]

On May 4th, he alludes to the operation of what he calls the "Munerarian law" (*i. e.*, law of gift):

"As far as the appearance goes, who does not say that the enactment some time ago of the Munerarian law at

[1] What this means I do not know. The book has 544 pages in 34 signatures; perhaps he reckons another way.

[2] See ii., 3, 19–21; also Egli, *A. S.*, 1391.

[3] Egli, *A. S.*, 1414.

PRIEST CONVERTED AT THE PREACHING OF ZWINGLI IN BERN,
JAN. 19, 1528.

Zurich (for I see that those Lutherans and Catabaptists are not without a purpose slandering Zurich) and now at Bern, is a good thing? Silver, gold, gems both silken and sumptuous clothing, are either laid aside or sold and distributed to the poor; evil speaking, perjury, carousing, and gambling are done away with; adultery, fornication, and brothels are forbidden; the wantonness of dancing both in the day and at night is controlled, nay that at night is interdicted; the pope, who was guarding the bridge and the way to the lower world, and his followers, the impious doctors, are put under restraint; the mass is done away with and the images that stand forth to draw worship are removed; seductive ceremonial is abolished; and what is finest and best of all, the truth is preached, with boldness yet holiness, with brilliancy yet reverence, faithfully but not wantonly. And all this, not so much at the command of the apostles and the elders as at the demand of the people." [1]

On August 24th, he issued in Zurich a reprint of Hans Caspar Schwenckfeld's treatise on the Lord's Supper, with a preface,[2] in which he called attention to the similarity between his doctrine and Schwenckfeld's. This action of Zwingli's involved Schwenckfeld in persecution through Fabri's incitation, and he was compelled to leave his home in Silesia and betake himself to Strassburg.

On August 30th, Zwingli published his reply [3] to Luther's Confession, relative to the Lord's Supper. He said on July 17th:

"I shall begin to read Luther's book to-morrow; but you need not be distrustful of the shortness of the time.

[1] VIII., 181. [2] II., 3, 22, 23. [3] II., 2, 94-223.

It [Zwingli's reply] shall be exposed for sale at the Frankfort Fair. Meanwhile the other brethren have read it, and have talked over with me as I took my walk the arguments which are most senseless, and also those which appear to the author most strong; so that I shall not favour a reply to many of the points, but ever oppose it." [1]

On July 21st, he wrote:

" I am now engaged on the refutation of Luther's book, which refutation you will see about September 1st. I am indeed wholly averse to this kind of fighting; but what do they think is to be done by him who is attacked with edge and point? Do not all believe that in repelling an enemy he is to be kept away, and if this is to be accomplished in no other way, he is to be cut down? And must we not oppose engines to those battering-rams which cause not theology but faith and truth to be overthrown, friendship to perish, and whatever is sacred and in moderation to be held in contempt among mortals? That book of Luther's, what else is it than an example of denying what you said a little while ago? or a fog through which you cannot see rightly the mystery of Christ? . . . . I shall put forth nothing wild against Luther — a thing he himself ought not to have done. Since he has done it I shall remember piety and Christian decorum." [2]

Writing on August 30th he said further of it:

" In his book he [Luther] slays, uncautious man that he is, divine and human wisdom which it would have

[1] VIII., 192. [2] VIII., 203.

been easy to revive among the devout. Since the heretics, that is his followers, are with the impious themselves so deaf to all truth that they not only refuse the ear but even close the approaches. I was for some time in doubt, considering on the one side the vast labour that was also vain so far as they were concerned who especially ought to receive benefit from it, and on the other that charity that 'endureth all things' and the conscience of those who while they are frank are still seducible by the trivial word of these men who under an appearance of snowy whiteness contrive deeds blacker than an Ethiopian. But charity and truth conquered, and I replied after the manner you see. Luther has recalled us to the positions of [Duns] Scotus and Thomas [Aquinas], not indeed that we trust in them or see that he has used with skill those poor weapons, but that we may deprive him of every kind of offensive equipment. For now I see that those followers of Urbanus [Rhegius] who declare that they have been illumined and informed by the anathema rather than the book of this man are really tricksters. I 'll be hanged if he [Urbanus Rhegius, who had changed from the Zwinglian to the Lutheran view of the Eucharist] does not exceed Fabri in folly, Eck in impurity, Cochläus in boldness, and so on. I have therefore inveighed against him the more freely. The judgment shall be yours and all good men's. For so shall we persevere unmoved in our position; whatever machinations of this sort may conjure up, we shall await undauntedly and repel and render harmless." [1]

On December 9th, he announced that his commentary on Isaiah was in the press.[2]

[1] Staehelin, *Briefe aus der Reformationszeit*, p. 21.

[2] VIII., 244. The preface to the Isaiah was signed July 15, 1529.

Here some matters of a general character must be alluded to. The most radical change which Zwingli made in the Church service at Zurich was to do away with both instrumental and vocal music. This action was the more strange since Zwingli himself was a very accomplished musician, being able to play upon different instruments and also to sing well; yet in the course of the year 1525 he suspended the choir-singing and on December 9, 1527, had the organ of the Great Minster broken up[1] and insisted that similar action should be taken by the other churches in the city[2] and canton. His motive was twofold; first, because all this music was inseparably connected with the Roman Church worship and he desired to remove as far as possible the Reformed congregations from all association with the past; and second, because the words of the music were in Latin and therefore unintelligible to the people and he desired to have every part of the Reformed worship in the vernacular.

The public worship in Zurich after 1525 consisted in prayers,[3] public confession of sins,[4] recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and preaching. The ministers wore their ordinary dress in the pulpit, but this dress, characterised by a black cloak and white ruff, was worn by others only on

[1] Bullinger gives the exact date, i., 418.

[2] The churches in Zurich reintroduced music in 1598.

[3] Zwingli defended liberty in this regard: "Any church will use such prayers as it pleases, provided they be framed according to the form of the Word of God" (iii., 85, *cf.* 109, and ii., 2, 233).

[4] The prayer and the confession written by Zwingli are given, ii., 2, 228, 229.

gala occasions, and when it passed out of fashion it became the distinctive ministerial dress. When the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and baptism were administered the entire liturgy was in the vernacular and stripped of everything reminding of the pomp and splendour of the Old Church. Even the burials were without any pomp. The body was carried out of the house to the burying-ground, the only words spoken were when the mourners were publicly thanked by the master of the guild to which the head of the house belonged for their expression of sympathy, and then the company went into the church for silent prayer, not for the dead, but for the bereaved. On the following Sunday the name of the deceased was announced to the congregation, accompanied by a reminder of their own mortality.[1]

The Church services were held on Sundays from seven to eight o'clock in the morning and between three and four in the afternoon. In the Great Minster there was a service for children and servants from eleven to twelve o'clock. During the week there was also a preaching service in the morning at five and at eight, which took the place of the early masses.[2] On Friday, which was the market day, Zwingli preached especially for the country people. At the end of 1525 certain ministers were set apart for visitation of the sick, inasmuch as this was no part of the duties of the people's priest.[3] Of the

[1] The form used in Zurich is given, ii., 2, 227, 228.

[2] The attendance falling off, the magistrates passed an order requiring church-going! (Egli, *A. S.*, 1780).

[3] Egli, *A. S.*, 866.

holy days were retained Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter; also St. Stephen's, All Saints', Candlemas, St. John the Baptist's, Mary Magdalene's, and more strangely the Annunciation and Ascension of the Virgin Mary, together with the day of the city patron saints, Felix and Regula. On these days, as on Sunday, public business and all work were forbidden, except necessary work, as harvesting. At the end of the year 1526 Zwingli authorised the issue of a calendar for the year 1527, in which the names of the church saints were supplanted by biblical saints, each with a Scripture reference.[1] The assignment to dates was purely arbitrary. The author of this book was an alleged Dr. Johannes Copp, but as this man is otherwise utterly unknown, the conjecture lies near that the real author was Zwingli himself. All the gold and silver ornaments and other costly treasures of the churches, including the vestments and the splendidly bound service-books, were not only removed from the churches but melted down, sold, or destroyed,[2] and even the grave stones, unless the relatives of the deceased took them away, were by order of the City Council used for building purposes.[3]

Although Zwingli was doubtless the author of all these changes in Church ordinances, yet the nominal authors were the city authorities and all these changes were made in their name. They were not

[1] Reprinted by Dr. Ernst Gœtzinger, *Zwei Kalender von Jahre 1527*, Schaffhausen, 1865.

[2] Bullinger, i., 383, *sq.*; Gerold Edlibach, *Chronik* (ed. Usteri, Zürich, 1847), 275; Zwingli, ii., 2, 443 *sqq.*

[3] Egli, *A. S.*, 865.

carried out without more or less opposition, especially in the country districts, where the people were more inclined to stand by the old order. On April 4, 1526, the Council of the city of Zurich passed an order relative to the support to be henceforth given to the clergy by setting apart certain sources of revenue to this end. This meant in some cases a considerable curtailment of income, especially on the part of the canons of the different cathedrals. Those priests who remained faithful to the old order were not, however, deprived of their stipends, but as they died or retired their places were filled, if at all, with those of the Reformed Church.

Zwingli showed his ambition for an educated clergy by establishing a theological seminary as soon as funds were available, which was in the summer of 1525. A call was given to a teacher of Greek and Hebrew, and Zwingli himself took part in the work. The text-book was the Bible. Instruction began at eight o'clock in the morning. One teacher read the Hebrew text and translated it into Latin with a brief interpretation. Then Zwingli translated the same text from the Greek of the Septuagint into Latin. Leo Jud then commented in German upon what had been read, and explained in Latin. This theological seminary was attended not only by regular students but by the clergy of the city, and Leo Jud's lectures by the people generally. Instruction from the Greek New Testament was given in the afternoon at three o'clock by Myconius. That Zwingli set up for himself a high standard is shown by his writings, and he was able to impress

this standard upon others. He called his institute "The Prophecy."[1]

On the 12th of December Zwingli presided over a synod at Frauenfeld,[2] in the canton of Thurgau, some twenty-two miles north-east of Zurich, at which were assembled not only the preachers of Thurgau but of St. Gall, Appenzell, and the Rhine valley, along with representatives of the congregations. In all there were some five hundred clergymen. The principal business of the synod apparently was to bring the clergy into line. Consequently those ministers who had been inclined to accept Anabaptism were either compelled to confess conversion to the orthodox view or else they were deposed on the ground of ignorance or deprived of their stipends. Other important business of the synod related to the reformation of the monasteries and the secularisation of their property. Zwingli on his way back went through Constance, preached there on the 19th of December, as he did later on at Stein and Diessenhofen, two towns on the Rhine fifteen and twenty miles respectively west of Constance. On the 17th of May, 1530, another synod was held at Frauenfeld in which Zwingli again took a personal part and through his friends in Constance he exerted an influence eastward upon the territory bordering on Thurgau, so that this whole section of the country heard the preaching of the Gospel.

It must be confessed that in the different sections of Switzerland into which the Reformation entered

[1] Johannes Kessler, *Sabbata* (ed. Gœtzinger, St. Gall, 1870), i., 372; Bullinger, i., 290 *sq.*; Zwingli, iv., 205; Egli, *A. S.*, 866.

[2] VIII., 401; Kessler, *Sabbata*, ii., 233 *sqq.*

the means adopted to secure its triumph were by no means always merely appeals to reason and conscience. Zwingli had the idea that whenever the majority wished to accept the new teachings they were justified in compelling the minority to accept them or to leave. This was the course he pursued in regard to the Baptists and this was also the course in regard to the monasteries and nunneries and to the establishment of the revised form of the Lord's Supper and in other ways. So the soul liberty which he claimed for himself and for his followers he was not willing to grant to others. Wherever he or his followers met with opposition there they used force. Particularly was this the case in regard to the cloisters. The case of the nuns of St. Katherinenthal is one in point. Their building was on the Rhine, five miles east of Schaffhausen. It is now a hospital for incurables. These nuns had opposed the Reformation, but were supposed to have been convinced by the arguments of Zwingli. They were brought under the preaching of those sent by the Swiss authorities, and because they still refused to accept the Reformation they were driven out of their cloister with violence, the pictures and statues of which were destroyed by a mob from the neighbouring town of Diessenhofen, a mile back on the Rhine, their religious dress was torn from their backs and burnt before their eyes, and they were themselves roughly handled.[1] The monks in the Cistercian abbey of

[1] See the pitiful story told by the sufferers, with annotations, *Archiv für die schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte* (Freiburg in Br., 1875), iii., 101–115.

Wettingen on the Limmat, thirteen miles northwest of Zurich, were also visited by a mob and the pictures and the statuary of their chapel likewise destroyed. They were compelled to remove them with their own hands and in the presence of the abbot of Cappel and of a delegation from Zurich and Bern to cut off one another's hair and pull off their hoods. Their building, surrounded by extensive gardens, was afterwards turned into a schoolhouse. It is now a seminary for teachers. Justification of this rough treatment of these monks and nuns, or rather the explanation offered, was the fact that the opposition to the Reformation came chiefly from them, and also it is probable that the people in this way revenged themselves for long years of oppression and neglect. But this was playing with edged tools, and naturally intensified the opposition to the Reformation on the part of the Five Forest Cantons.

Zwingli in 1529 stood at the height of his influence. His followers, who up to 1526 had been limited to the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich, were now found in all parts of German Switzerland even to some extent in the Five Forest Cantons, and also in Strassburg, Hessia, and the Swabian cities — in short, through a considerable part of Northern Switzerland and Southern Germany. In all these parts he was looked upon as the religious leader and was praised and trusted as no other man of his day in this section of Europe. The burden and responsibility for the management of all the churches which had accepted his theology naturally fell

upon him. The congregations thus established were subjected to the control of the local authorities. They held their own independent church courts, but in the common opposition to the Anabaptists (or rather Baptists), to the Catholic Church, and to the Lutherans they found a bond of union, and so they gradually assumed a uniformity of doctrinal expression and of internal Church management. Just as in the early time it was the presence of heresy which brought the orthodox Christian churches together and led to the formation of the Catholic Church, so it was the presence of Anabaptism, the mass, and Lutheranism which caused the rise of the Reformed Church in German Switzerland and Southern Germany. The intercourse between various places by means of delegations, which was a feature of their national life, was used to promote religious as well as political ends, for the civil delegations were frequently accompanied by ecclesiastic delegations and the matters brought up for discussion at such meetings were quite as likely to be religious as political or commercial. For instance, how to treat the Anabaptists, how to treat the Lutherans, whether they should apply property of the cloisters to educational purposes, and whether they should have identical forms of creeds and litany, these were matters earnestly presented. Zwingli does not seem to have been inclined to suppress the individuality of the several congregations, for when the synod was held at Basel on February 15, 1531, and the question was asked whether the allied congregations should not have the same litany, the answer was

given that although such a uniformity was desirable it was not necessary and should not be made obligatory. At the same time the synod held that it was very desirable to have regular interchange of views and opinions between the churches in the Christian Burgher Rights. Zwingli laid particular stress upon the organisation of the synod. That of Zurich was naturally made the model. These synods were democratic bodies and exerted powerful influence upon the congregations which they represented in doctrinal and ethical matters. But in most of the cities and cantons the Church affairs were regulated by the magistrates. Whenever possible Zwingli seems to have put himself in evidence as much as possible, even to the extent of being himself the presiding officer of the synod, and when any conflict arose between it and the magistrates he generally took the side of the magistrates.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST CAPPEL WAR AND THE COLLOQUY OF MARBURG

1529

THE year 1529 is for ever memorable because in it the religious party in Germany and Switzerland, which had revolted from the Old Church, first received their cognomen of "Protestants." This excellent descriptive epithet, which all branches of the Reformed Church, save one, are proud to bear, arose naturally from the action of John, the Elector of Saxony; the Margrave of Brandenburg; Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse; Philip, Ernest, and Francis, the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg; Wolfgang, the Prince of Anhalt; and of the imperial cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Issna, St. Gall, Weissenburg, and Windsheim, in protesting at the Diet of Spires, on April 19, 1529, against its action in ordering the reinstatement of the mass in those portions of the empire where it had been overthrown, and the extirpation of the alleged Zwinglian and Anabaptist "heresies."[1] It is a sad fact that the proposed

[1] See summary in Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.*, Eng. trans., Am. ed., iv., 130–132, footnotes. The Zwinglians were called by Lutherans and Roman Catholics "Sacramentarians."

8, 1529, Zurich declared war on the Five Cantons[1] and joined by her allies, especially by Bern, marched thirty thousand strong to Cappel, a border town ten miles directly south of Zurich. Zwingli accompanied the troops, nominally as chaplain, as his office obligated him to do. He went on horseback, carrying "on his shoulder a beautiful halberd." It was his plan to strike a quick and crushing blow upon the disorganised Five Cantons, and then extort from them the abrogation of the Austrian alliance, the renunciation of foreign pensions, and full liberty to preach the Reformed doctrines within their borders. It was to see that these things were insisted on that he accompanied the host. But as they were directly opposite to the Five Cantons' ideas and could only be obtained by bloodshed, he was held by them to be their deadliest foe; and the Zurich authorities, knowing that he was considered by them as the cause of the whole trouble, had endeavoured to keep him in Zurich and even appointed another to be chaplain.

But the first Cappel war was over as soon as it was begun. On June 10th the allies received a moving appeal from the chief magistrate of Glarus to await a proposition from the Five Cantons. Zwingli perceived the folly of treating with them

[1] Her reasons were apparently drawn up by Zwingli and were circulated in printed form. The document is reprinted by Bullinger (ii., 164–167). Seven reasons were given, but they were reducible to two, the alliance the cantons had made with Austria for the express purpose of destroying the Reformed Church, and the execution of Jacob Keyser (also called Schlosser) by the canton of Schwyz for his faith's sake.

and patching up a peace which secured none of the objects of the threatened war. He said to the bearer of the appeal: "You will have to give an account to God for this. While the enemy is weak and without arms, he speaks fair: you believe him and make peace. But when he is fully armed, he will not spare us, and then no peace will he make with us." The man replied: "I trust in God that all will turn out well. Let us act always for the best." [1]

On June 11th, Zwingli wrote from the field to the Small and Great Councils of Zurich a long letter,[2] in which he gave his idea of the necessary conditions for a lasting peace: I. The Forest Cantons must allow the Word of God to be freely preached among them. II. Pensions were to be for ever foresworn. III. Distribution of such pensions was to be punished corporally and by fine. IV. The Forest Cantons were to pay indemnity to Zurich and Bern.

In the camp the chief talk was apparently against the pensioners, who were considered principal fomenters of trouble, as they had done so much to degenerate their fellow countrymen. Their suppression was also dear to Zwingli, as much so, perhaps, as religious liberty. Peace could the easier be arranged as there was on neither side, certainly not among the common soldiers, any desire to fight, — in fact, the outposts fraternised,[3] and besides

[1] Bullinger, ii., 170.

[2] VIII., 296 *sqq*.

[3] *Cf*. the famous story of the Forest Cantoners offering milk to the Zurichers' bread and both eating them together (Bullinger, ii., 182, 183). Similar events occurred during the Civil War in the United States, and probably in many other wars.

hunger played an urgent part in inducing the Catholics to come to terms.[1]

While the negotiations were going on the camp of the Reformed was under strict discipline and daily religious services were held. Zwingli discovered that the pensioners were secretly working against him and naturally they had plenty of allies. Even Bern was indifferent in the matter.[2] He then composed this hymn[3]:

I.

Lord, guide the car [of War] Thyself!
Otherwise crooked
All our course becomes.
That would be joy
To our enemies,
Who Thee
Despise so wickedly.

II.

God, elevate Thy Name
To the punishment
Of the wicked goats!
Thy sheep
Again awake,
Who Thee
Love so ardently!

III.

Help, so that all bitterness
May be far removed,
And old fidelity
May come back
And grow anew;
That we
Ever may sing Thy praises!

On June 24, 1530, the treaty was signed, and Zwingli on that day expressed himself as satisfied

[1] VIII., 305. "Our enemies are suffering from hunger. . . . They are tired of the war since they have nothing to eat."

[2] See his letter to Blaurer, June 21, 1529 (viii., 308); *cf.* that to Bern, in which he alludes to camp disputes on July 24 (viii., 325).

[3] II., 2, 275, 276, and the music, 527. Bullinger gives it (ii., 182) and states that it was immediately and widely popular. It was sung at the Swiss celebrations of the four hundredth anniversary of

TRANSLATION.

GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD. I should have already sent you our replies to Luther, since I have gotten hold of a letter carrier, if I had not been suspicious that they had been long ago delivered to you. My present business is somewhat different. Private citizens of Mülhausen urge, not of their individual authority, but rather by command of those particularly concerned, that they should be received into the alliance between Zurich and Bern. But this has been done in the dark, that is, cautiously and secretly. We, the Town clerk and I, have not yet brought up the matter, chiefly for the reason that we are awaiting your petition; and we hope that it will [illegible]

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and thankful.[1] The treaty contained eighteen Articles, of which these were the chief: 1. Neither side was to persecute anyone for his faith's sake. The majority in each canton was to decide whether the Old Faith was to be retained or not. 2. The alliance with Austria was to be dissolved and the papers pertaining to it "pierced and slit." 3. The six cities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, St. Gall, Mülhausen, and Biel, all Reformed, renounced definitely for themselves and their dependencies all pensions and foreign subsidies of every description, but merely recommended a similar course to the Five Forest Cantons. 7. Schwyz was to support the children of Jacob Keyser (or Schlosser), whom she had burned for his faith's sake. 10. Abusive speech on both sides was to cease. 13. The Forest Cantons were to reimburse Zurich and Bern for the cost of the war inside of fourteen days from the date of the treaty; on penalty for failure to do so the six cities would refuse to sell them food.[2] Zwingli thus expressed himself on June 29th, in writing to a friend at Ulm:

"We have brought home a peace-treaty which is I

Zwingli's birth in 1884, and at the unveiling of the Zwingli statue in Zurich, Monday, August 24, 1885. The poetical versions given in the English translations of Hottinger by T. C. Porter (p. 301), Christoffel by J. Cochrane (p. 430), Merle d'Aubigne by H. White (iv., p. 488), the last reprinted by Schaff (*Hist. Chr. Church*, vii., p. 173), with the alteration of one line, are so exceedingly free as to misrepresent the original in thought and metre.

[1] See viii., 309.

[2] The text of the treaty is given in Bullinger, ii., 185–191. The war costs were reckoned as "2500 Sonnenkronen" (ii., 3, 43).

trust most honourable for us, although we have not shed a drop of blood. Our opponents on the other hand have brought home a very wet pelt [*i. e.*, a great damper has been put upon them]. Because in the first place the Articles of alliance with Ferdinand were by the Ammann of Glarus about 11 A.M. on June 29th before our own eyes, in our camp, cut to pieces with a hanger and entirely destroyed. That I saw with my own eyes. . . . In our whole campaign there was no dissension at all, and no one wounded on either side. Among the opponents was all fear and dissension, that God had provided, also hunger." [1]

The treaty was highly approved by the Reformed in the six cities, but considered humiliating by the Forest Cantons. Zwingli was particularly anxious to secure the free preaching of the Gospel in the Forest Cantons, and claimed that the treaty secured it, but the Forest Cantons denied this. The delegation Zurich sent to urge the matter reported that not the leaders only but the people generally were more determined than ever to keep out the evangelical preachers. So nothing could be accomplished, and it was evident that in one chief Article the treaty failed; indeed, that the Forest Cantons were only biding their time to make another appeal to the sword.[2]

Zwingli took advantage of the lull in Swiss affairs to resume the negotiations for a colloquy between

[1] VIII., 311, from the German, which is plainly the original. The Latin translation appears on opposite page.

[2] On August 10th, when he wrote to the Landgrave, he considered war a possibility (viii., 663).

himself and followers and Luther and his followers, as urged by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.[1] On "Thursday after SS. Peter and Paul's day" (*i. e.*, July 1st), 1529, the latter sent from Friedewald, thirty miles southeast of Cassel, a very cordial letter to Zwingli informing him that he had made arrangements already for the conference and had received the promise of Luther and Melanchthon to attend.[2] The place would be Marburg, in his domains, and the time set for their arrival was St. Michael's Day, September 29th (which that year fell on Wednesday), and the conference would begin the next day. He also advised that he pick up Œcolampadius in Basel on the way, as he had also been invited, and that they come to Marburg via Strassburg and through the Duchy of Zweibrücken, as friendly territories, to Katzenellenbogen, twenty miles southeast of Coblenz and in Hessia. Thence they would have a military escort to Marburg. The other route open to them was via Frankfort on the Rhine, but this was more perilous. Finally, he apologised for putting the date of the conference so late, on the ground that he had heard a war had broken out.[3]

[1] The town records of Zurich show that on July 19, 1529, Zwingli had had a man put in prison for accusing him of stealing twenty gulden and a pair of spurs. On July 22d he accepted his apology that the words were spoken while the offender was drunk, and the man was released on a fine of two marks silver and costs (Strickler, *Actensammlung*, ii., pp. 264, 265).

[2] Carlstadt was not invited, as he complained to Œcolampadius, viii., 394.

[3] VIII., 312. The war Philip alludes to is known as the first Cappel war already described.

On July 12th, Œcolampadius, ignorant that he had already consented, asked Zwingli to join him in the Marburg conference.[1]

On July 14, 1529, Zwingli wrote again to Philip of Hesse in reply to his letter to the Zurich Council and accompanied it with the Council's letters to Philip and himself. He stated that the Council of Zurich preferred Strassburg as the place of meeting, because it was only twenty-one miles from Zurich, and reached without going through hostile territory. At the same time if the place could not be changed he was ready to go to Marburg and Œcolampadius would go likewise.[2]

To this the Prince replied on "Tuesday after St. James's Day" (*i. e.*, July 27th), to the effect that the place had been carefully considered and was the most convenient for all the parties and could not be changed; that on the journey thither the Swiss theologians would have no personal danger except when going over the fourteen miles between Basel and Strassburg, and even this short stretch was not very unsafe.[3] On July 30th Œcolampadius expressed to Zwingli his own apprehensions for their safety and his doubts as to the outcome of the Colloquy.[4] On August 1st, he wrote that on Zwingli's advice he had tried to get the Strassburgers to intercede to have the place changed from Marburg, but nothing had been accomplished.[5] It is evident from this letter that Zwingli's physical courage was not

[1] VIII., 319, 320.
[2] VIII., 320.
[3] VIII., 329.
[4] VIII., 331.
[5] VIII., 333.

great. He had failed the Reformed cause at Baden. He was likely to do so at Marburg. Œcolampadius cheers him up by the promised presence of Christ on the journey. Capito in Strassburg lays before him the ridicule Luther would pour upon him if he failed to come, the great desirability on every account of his coming, the comparative safety of the journey, and the elaborate arrangements made for it going and coming.[1] Butzer, also in Strassburg, talks in similar strain.[2] On August 10, 1529, Zwingli gave the definite promise to come to the conference at Marburg, unless war should break out again, even though permission to do so might be refused by the Council.[3]

The Landgrave wrote him in reply on the "Sabbath after the Assumption of Mary" (*i. e.*, Saturday, August 21st), that he urgently called him, as he had good hopes that if he came the controversy as to the Eucharist would be settled.[4] Down to August 18th, Œcolampadius did not know exactly when they were to set forth[5]; but when he wrote again on September 1st, he knew and had arranged that Zwingli's arrival in Basel should be kept a secret. When he came it would be decided whether they should go thence to Strassburg by boat on the Rhine or on horseback.[6]

Zwingli was so sure of a refusal from the Council

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[1] See his letter of August 4th (viii., 336). See also Sturm's letter (viii., 337).

[2] VIII., 340.

[3] VIII., 663, 664.

[4] VIII., 351.

[5] VIII., 352.

[6] VIII., 354.

to his petition to be allowed to go that he never applied, but quietly left Zurich about 10 P.M. on Friday, September 3d, put up at the hotel "To the Ox," in the suburb called Sihl, just before the Rennweg gate, the north-west gate of the city, and there passed the night.[1] He did not even tell his wife that he was going farther than Basel. Before daybreak the next morning he wrote a letter to the Great and Small Councils of Zurich, explaining and apologising for his leaving the city without permission, by the importance of the coming Colloquy and the urgency of the Prince of Hesse. He informed the Councils that he had been refused permission by the Small Council, and anticipated the same result if he addressed them.[2] The distance to Marburg was sixty German miles (or two hundred and forty English miles). Basel would not only send Œcolampadius, but a delegate from among the Councillors. "If Zurich follows this example let the person sent be Ulrich Funk, because he is young enough to stand the long, arduous journey and besides can understand Latin, which will be the probable language of the Colloquy, for I very much fear that they [the Prince and the Lutherans] will not understand our language. I have taken Rudolf Collin with me."[3]

[1] Bernhard Weis in Fuessli, *Beytraege*, iv., 117 *sqq*. It was there that Samson stopped (p. 125 of this volume).

[2] His secret departure gave rise to the idea that the devil had carried him off! (Bullinger, ii., 224).

[3] VIII., 355. The letter was doubtless written in German. It is dated "Geben Samitag früh von Tag I. Herbstmonat zu Zürich, 1529" (*i. e.*, Saturday morning before the first day of September at

On Sunday, September 5th, at 9 P.M., he wrote to the Zurich Council that he had arrived in Basel that day[1]; would go by boat to Strassburg the next day, but would not leave there till the 18th. "Have Master Stoll say to my wife whatever ought to be said to a woman, for when I left I told her only that I was

Zurich, 1529). Now since the first day of September that year was Wednesday, it follows that the Saturday before was August 28th. Yet Christoffel (p. 302, Eng. trans., p. 339), Mörikofer (ii., p. 229), and Staehelin (ii., p. 392) all say the start was made September 1st. The explanation is that they either have not freshly investigated the matter, but taken the statements of their predecessors, or else have followed the ambiguous Latin translation which reads: "Dedi Sabbati die mane ante lucem 1 Septembus Turici a. 1529," which *may* mean "Given on Saturday morning before daybreak first September at Zurich in the year 1529," but as Saturday was August 28th, it here means, "Given on the Saturday morning before the 1st of September," etc. But Bullinger says (ii., 224) that the start was made on September 3d, which would be Friday, so the date of the letter was Saturday, September 4th, which agrees precisely with the statement in Zwingli's letter from Basel (viii., 362) that he arrived there Sunday, September 5th. So I believe the former letter was wrongly dated or deciphered, "post" or "nach" being used for "ante" or "vor." Strickler dates the letter correctly, September 4th (ii., *A. S.*, 790), as does August Baur (ii., 623). The allusion to the probable inability of the Lutherans to understand the *patois* of Zwingli is interesting, and is particularly appreciated by those who have tried to converse with modern Zürich peasants. But the written Zurich dialect was just as bad, for Zwingli wrote to the Landgrave on May 7, 1529, "that I address you in Latin I do it for this reason only because I fear that our Swiss tongue is strange to you" (viii., 663). So, also, to the same on July 14th he wrote: "I fear that if we meet I shall not be understood in my tongue. So I do not know whether it would not be better if we used Latin" (viii., 324).

[1] The distance between Zurich and Basel is only fifty-six miles by rail, and is now made inside of three hours; but was then made on horseback, and might well take nearly two days.

going to Basel on business. . . . Do not suspect that I have left Zurich to seek another settlement."[1] On the next day at the same hour he wrote to the Council from Strassburg, telling of his safe arrival in thirteen hours in a ship provided by the Baselers, and would remain eleven days. "I wish you would please tell my dear wife that I have arrived at Strassburg."[2] While there he preached. On September 17th he and his companion Ulrich Funk wrote to the Council that they should start the next day, which was Saturday, under the protection of the escort.[3] Next they are heard from on September 22d, at Meisenheim, which is eighty miles due north from Strassburg. They say:

"After Master Huldreich had written in our name how and when we set forth from Strassburg, the authorities of Strassburg sent us with an escort of soldiers to their castle called Kochersberg, thence to the castle of Herrstein [eighty-five miles north of Strassburg and five miles north-west of Meisenheim], and treated us in so honourable and friendly a fashion that we were at no expense for entertainment. They also sent the distinguished Jacob Sturm with two preachers and an escort of five soldiers with us to the Landgrave, and when we had come to the castle of Herrstein some knights of Duke Ludwig of Zweibrücken met us and conducted us in faithful and friendly ways through by-paths and woods, over mountains and through valleys, safely and secretly to Zweibrücken and thence to the castles Lichtenberg and Meisenheim.[4] There we were received in a manner

[1] VIII., 361. [2] VIII., 362. [3] VIII., 366.

[4] The distance from Herrstein is only five miles in a straight course south-east.

no less friendly and were at no expense for entertainment, and found at our disposal all and more than all that had been promised us. Now with the help of God we expect to ride to-day [Wednesday, September 22d] from Meisenheim to St. Goar,[1] or the castle Rheinfels which is there, between which points forty cavalry of the Landgrave of Hesse will receive us, and thence over the Rhine to Marburg,[2] where what we have come for will be transacted."[3]

Zwingli had left Zurich on September 4th, in company with the Greek professor Rudolf Collin, as has been said; when they reached Marburg on September 27th, he was accompanied by Œcolampadius of Basel, Butzer and Hedio of Strassburg, and by representatives of Zurich, Basel, and Strassburg. The Landgrave entertained them and Luther and his company in his castle. It was the first time the leaders of the Lutherans and the Reformed had met one another and much was expected. Zwingli wished Latin to be used exclusively and the debate to be open; but Luther carried his contention for German, no shorthand reports of the speeches,[4] and a limited

[1] Thirty miles almost due north on the Rhine.

[2] Sixty-five miles north-east.

[3] VIII., 368.

[4] Consequently we have at best only reports written from notes made after the debate. Brenz also declares "there was no shorthand clerk present to take down the matter and none of the hearers was given opportunity to note down anything" (iv., 201). These reports are collected in iv., 173–204; and for the Swiss side see also Bullinger's account (ii., 223–239); reprinted in part in Zwingli's Works (ii., 3, 45–56), and additional matter (pp. 57, 58). The account by Collin (iv., 173–184), Zwingli's travelling companion, who was present at all the open sessions, is here followed.

audience — the Prince of Hesse, his counsellors, several nobles and magnates, in all not more than sixty and perhaps not that many at any one session. Zwingli read from the Greek Testament; Luther used his own German translation. Once when Zwingli read a passage in Greek, Luther requested that the readings be from the Latin or German.[1] The parties to the Colloquy were, on the Zwinglian side, Huldreich Zwingli from Zurich, Johann Œcolampadius from Basel, Martin Butzer and Caspar Hedio from Strassburg; on the other side Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, and Caspar Cruciger, all from Wittenberg; Friedrich Myconius from Gotha, Johann Brenz from Hall; Andreas Osiander from Nuremberg, and Stephen Agricola from Augsburg. With a view to shortening the debate the Landgrave had arranged that Zwingli and Melanchthon, Œcolampadius and Luther should meet on Thursday, September 30th, the day preceding that set for the Colloquy, each pair apart in private. The result was much mutual enlightenment as to their views, for it appeared that the Lutherans had really erroneous ideas as to the Zwingli position on minor points. In these private debates the Zwinglians were apparently on the defensive, as the Lutherans held them in more or less disguised contempt. But in these private talks probably, and certainly in the public debate, there was outward courtesy.[2] When on the next day, Friday, October 1st, the public debate began, it was found that Luther had written before him upon the table in chalk the words:

[1] IV., 179.

[2] So Brenz (iv., 201).

"This is My Body," in order not to allow himself, says Collin, to be drawn in the discussion with Zwingli and Œcolampadius away from these words. Luther opened the debate by stating that the debate should cover all points of Christian doctrine, as Zwingli had made errors on other points than that of the Eucharist, upon which latter subject he bluntly declared that he was sure he was right and always would be opposed to the Zwinglian view that the words he had written, "This is My Body," were to be taken other than literally. To which Zwingli replied that the conference should be restricted to the single subject to discuss which it was called, and so the matter was arranged. Neither side had the smallest intention to yield to the other upon a single point, and both sides expressed the greatest contempt for the opposite side's arguments. The debate at first took the form of a colloquy between Luther and Œcolampadius. Then Zwingli joined in and accused Luther of judging the case before he heard it in that he declared that he was not going to withdraw from his opinion. This sounded well, but Zwingli was open to precisely the same charge. Both Luther and Zwingli were invulnerable to all arguments. After Zwingli and Luther had debated for a while, Œcolampadius spoke again, and Luther rejoined. So the debate went on for two days, mercifully interrupted by meals and sleep.[1]

The principal points were the construction to be

[1] IV., 179. "Dinner intervened and cut short the struggle," says Collin.

put upon Christ's words used at the table on the night in which He was betrayed, "This is My Body"; and the relevancy of John vi. to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the patristic teaching on the subject, and the nature of the Body which could be found in the sacrament.

At the conclusion of the public debate the Swiss asked that

"Luther would take them for brethren. This Dr. Martin would not at all agree to. He even addressed them very seriously, saying that he was exceedingly surprised that they should regard him as a brother if they seriously believed their own doctrine true. But that [they considered him a brother] was an indication that they themselves did not think that there was much involved in the matter."

This speech, reported by the faithful pen of Melanchthon,[1] shows how much stress Luther laid upon his interpretation of the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Luther thus put the matter in his letter to Jacobus, the provost at Bremen:

"As to the statement the Sacramentarians[2] are casting abroad to the effect that I was beaten at Marburg, they are acting after their own kind. For they are not only liars but the very incarnation of lying, deceit, and hypocrisy, as Carlstadt and Zwingli show by their very deeds and words. But you see that in the Articles formulated at Marburg they took back the pestiferous teaching that they had been promulgating in their published books in

[1] IV., 189. [2] The opprobrious epithet for the Zwinglians.

regard to baptism, the use of the sacraments, the external word, and the rest. We took back nothing. . . . They professed with many words that they wished to agree with us so far as to say that the body of Christ is truly present in the Supper, but spiritually, with the sole view that we deign to call them brethren, and so feign harmony. This Zwingli begged with tears in his eyes before the Landgrave and all of them, saying, 'There are no people on earth with whom I would rather be in harmony than with the Wittenbergers.' They strove with the utmost eagerness and vigour to seem in harmony with us, and could never endure the expression I used, 'You have a different spirit from ours.' They burst into flame every time they heard it."[1]

Œcolampadius in his account of the Colloquy is very much milder than Luther and milder than Zwingli. He believed that "there was no victory on either side since there was no fighting or contending."[2] Brenz is very explicit in regard to the split which was so plainly manifested between the speakers, and which surprised and grieved the Landgrave. He says:

"Afterwards, when the meeting had been disbanded, the Prince tried every possible way to secure agreement between us, speaking to each one of us by himself without witnesses, and begging, warning, exhorting, demanding that we have regard to the Republic of Christ and put strife away. [Failing to secure the absolute submission of the Zwinglians] we decided with one voice that they were outside the Communion of the Christian Church, and could not be recognised by us as brethren

[1] IV., 190. [2] IV., 191.

and members of the Church. This our opponents thought very hard indeed. . . . But when the Prince also thought it hard we modified our decision so far as to be willing to recognise our opponents of the Zwingli and Œcolampadius following as friends, but not as brethren and members of the Church of Christ."[1]

Justus Jonas, another Lutheran who was present, characterised the Zwinglian disputants thus:

"Zwingli has something countrified about him, and at the same time arrogant; Œcolampadius has a wonderful kindness of disposition and tolerance; Hedio is as courteous as he is liberal-minded; Butzer has the craftiness of the fox, a distorted imitation of acuteness and wisdom. They are all learned beyond a doubt, and the Papalists are no opponents in comparison with them, but Zwingli seems to have gone into letters under the wrath of the Muses and the power of Minerva."[2]

But it was not entirely in vain that the disputants met. They had been in such mutual ignorance of each other's real views upon other topics than the Eucharist, and of the arguments by which they sustained them, that it was much to make them mutually acquainted on these points. They discovered with surprise and perhaps with gratitude that they agreed upon nearly everything. So, greatly to the Landgrave's satisfaction, they drew up Articles upon their points of agreement and all signed them on October 3d.[3] They also came a little closer to-

[1] IV., 203. [2] IV., 204.
[3] See the Articles with Zwingli's notes (iv., 181–184).

gether. Œcolampadius and Melanchthon, both mild-mannered men, probably could be cordial to one another, but between Luther and Zwingli there could be no cordiality.

How much longer they might have stayed at Marburg is uncertain, but the outbreak of the "English Sweat," a form of pestilence,— named on the principle that a foreigner is an enemy and all bad things are to be attributed to him; in England the same sickness would probably be called French,— broke out in Marburg and hastened their departure.[1] So on Tuesday, October 5th, they left. The Zwingli party went to Strassburg directly under the escort of Count Wilhelm von Fürstenburg and arrived there safely on October 15th; and on Tuesday, October 19th, Zwingli was once more in Zurich.

The next day he wrote this letter to Vadianus,[2] in which he claims the victory, but writes in much milder language than Luther:

"Grace and peace from the Lord. I will now write briefly what you desire to know. After we had been brought under the safest conduct to Marburg, and Luther with his party had come, the Prince Landgrave determined that Œcolampadius and Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli, should meet two by two in private to see whether they could not find some ground of agreement upon which they could found peace. Hereupon Luther

[1] Writing to Zwingli on February 1, 1530, the Landgrave renews his acceptance of the Zwinglian position throughout (*cf.* viii., 405). So there was at least one convert to the Zwinglian side made or confirmed by the Colloquy.

[2] VIII., 369, 370.

received Œcolampadius in such a way that the latter came to me complaining secretly that he had met another Eck—but this is to be told to the trusty alone.

"But as for Melanchthon he was so slippery and so transformed himself after the manner of Proteus that he compelled me to seize a pen, to arm my hand and dry it as with salt and so hold him more firmly as he glided around in all sorts of escapes and subterfuges. From this I send you a few examples out of the hundreds of thousands of things said, yet under the condition that you are not to communicate them to any except the trusty, *i. e.*, those who will not make a text for trouble out of them, for Philip [Melanchthon] himself has a copy of them. It was written by me while he was looking on and reading all, and sometimes dictating his own words. But I do not wish to give rise to a new quarrel. Philip and I were engaged in conversation for six hours,[1] Luther and Œcolampadius for three. On the next day, in the presence of the Landgrave and twenty-four witnesses, Luther and Melanchthon and Œcolampadius and Zwingli went into the arena and fought there and in three other sessions. For there were four in all in which we contended successfully. For we presented to Luther as needing explanation the fact that he had propounded those thrice foolish statements: that Christ suffered in

[1] The topics were the Trinity, Original Sin, the relation of the Holy Spirit to the written Word of God, and the Eucharist. It turned out that Melanchthon and the Lutherans generally held the Zwinglians in so great contempt that they had not taken the trouble to study their books and find out what they believed; while the Zwinglians were so jealous of the Lutherans that they could not listen to them. Consequently to their common shame the two parties were ignorant of one another and credulous of every story to their opponents' discredit.

His divine nature ; that the Body of Christ is everywhere ; and that the flesh could not profit of itself otherwise than as he now asserted. But the fine fellow made no reply, except that in the matter of the flesh not profiting he said : 'You know, Zwingli, that as time progressed and their judgment grew, all the Fathers treated the passages of Scripture in ways different from the earlier expositions.' Then he said : 'The Body of Christ is eaten corporeally in our body, but in the meantime I will reserve this to myself whether the Body is eaten by the soul.' And yet a little before he had said : 'The Body of Christ is eaten with the mouth corporeally, the soul does not eat Him corporeally.' He also said : 'The Body of Christ is produced by these words, "This is My Body," no matter how wicked the man who pronounces these words.' He conceded that the Body of Christ is finite. He admitted that the Eucharist can be called the sign of the Body of Christ. These and other innumerable vacillating, absurd, and foolish utterances of his, which he babbled forth like pebbles on a beach, we so argued on that now the Prince himself is on our side, although for the sake of certain princes he pretended not to be. Almost all the Court of Hesse have deserted Luther. He himself grants that our books could be read without harm. Hereafter he will suffer the parties who agree with us to retain their positions. Prince John of Saxony was not present, but the Prince of Wittenberg was.

"We parted with the understanding which you will see in print. Truth was so clearly superior that, if ever any one was overcome, Luther, the impudent and obstinate,[1]

[1] *Impudens et contumax.* (Ecolampadius, on February 12, 1530, urged Zwingli to write a book to match Luther's on the Marburg Colloquy, in which he claimed the victory (viii., 410). Zwingli complains of Luther's boast (viii., 669).

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was beaten, and before a wise and just judge, although meantime he was unconquered. We have effected this good, that after we shall agree in the other dogmas of the Christian religion, the Pope's party cannot entertain the hope that Luther will be theirs. While I write this I am wearied with my journey[1]; when you come to us you shall have a full report. For I think we have also gained something else; things that will prove a safeguard for religion and against the monarchy of Cæsar. These also shall be set forth to you when the time shall demand it. Meanwhile, farewell, and greet all friends.

"Yours,

"HULDREICH ZWINGLI.

"ZURICH, October 20, 1529."

On November 2d, Zwingli wrote a letter of thanks to the Landgrave, beginning it thus:

"I give you my hearty thanks for your kindly offer if I wish to better my condition, and I thank you also for the zeal you have shown in providing for our return home. But the time was much too short for Œcolampadius and all of us, not merely in the matter of the conference, but also on other accounts. We were hindered by the power of certain preachers for instance."[2]

This shows that the Landgrave tried to take Zwingli away from Zurich and also, as the preceding letter does, that other business was discussed between them than purely religious affairs.[3]

[1] He had arrived in Zurich the day before.

[2] VIII., 664.

[3] This point will be brought out more fully in the next chapter.

MARBURG CASTLE, INTERIOR. THE APARTMENT IN WHICH THE COLLOQUY WAS HELD.

THE CROSS (x) IN THE FLOOR MARKS WHERE THE TABLE STOOD AROUND WHICH THE DISPUTANTS SAT.

CHAPTER XV

ZWINGLI'S POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN HIS CLOSING YEARS

1529–1531

ZWINGLI'S correspondence during 1529, 1530, and 1531 shows how much absorbed he was in the schemes for advancing evangelical religion by means of a political alliance. In the beginning Zurich stood alone, but, on December 25, 1527, made an alliance with Constance, which was known as the "Christian Burgher Rights"; by September, 1529, Bern, St. Gall, Biel, Mülhausen, Basel, and Schaffhausen had also joined. But Zwingli was ambitious to extend this alliance. While on his way to Marburg he obtained some important information at Strassburg, which he despatched to the Zurich authorities, relating to the intentions of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, the Emperor, and the Pope, all of whom plotted the destruction of the Zwinglians and then of the Lutherans.[1] In his letter to Vadianus on his return home he said: "I think we have gained . . . things which will prove a safeguard for religion and against the

[1] VIII., 363, 365. He sent it also to Constance, pp. 428–430.

monarchy of Cæsar [the Emperor]."[1] This remark and his letter to Philip of Hesse[2] of November 2nd, plainly show, as has been elsewhere said,[3] that other things than theology, and things, too, in which Zwingli had keener interest, were discussed at Marburg.[4] Philip and the Duke of Wurtemberg desired to join the Christian Burgher Rights and also to bring in the Protestant princes and cities of North Germany. Zwingli hoped to have in the league all the South German Protestant cities. He even considered it possible to lure Venice into it, as he had learned that that city was favourable to the Protestant movement[5]; and also France.[6] As the alliance grew he more and more keenly anticipated the time when the Protestants of South Germany and Switzerland would be so numerous and strong that no such insulting proposition would dare be made about "Sacramentarians" as was made at Spires in 1529, nor would any intentionally insulting epithet be given to them. The solemn determination of the Emperor to put down heresy in Germany, and the increasing insolence and persecuting spirit on the part of the Forest Cantons

[1] VIII., 370. [2] VIII., 664.

[3] See p. 342.

[4] So Bullinger, ii., 236. Œcolampadius was not in the secret apparently (viii., 375).

[5] Luther also (*Briefe*, ed. de Wette, iii., 289).

[6] Butzer, or perhaps Jacob Sturm, on December 15, 1529 (viii., 383), speaks of the report brought by the German Count von Hohenlohe, that the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, and the Duke of Guise were leagued together against the Gospel in Germany and Switzerland.

made the alliance seem all the more desirable, and explain and excuse Zwingli's energetic efforts to effect it. How closely he united politics and religion is strikingly shown in his preface to his translation of Isaiah,[1] in which he mingles a discussion of the best form of government—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, deciding for the second — with strictly religious themes.

Zwingli's political activity made an unfavourable impression upon Luther — who was prejudiced anyway—and upon many others who shared his opinion that such resort to worldly politics betrayed mistrust of spiritual forces. The Lutheran princes rejected at Schmalkald, on December 3, 1529, the alliance with the Zwinglians proposed by the Landgrave, a refusal which damped the ardour of the South German cities. Ulm determined to hold off from any alliance with the Swiss.[2] Zwingli's hopes to get Venice[3] and France into the alliance were equally vain. In view of his vehement denunciations of the alliance between the Swiss and the foreign princes it was apparently very inconsistent in him to seek such alliance, and an alliance, too, with bigoted Roman Catholic Powers, one of which (France) had herself oppressed Protestantism; but the justification to his mind was the supposed peril of

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[1] V., 483–489.

[2] Vadian, *Deutsche Schriften*, iii., 263; Escher, *Die Glaubensparteien in der Eidgenossenschaft und ihre Beziehungen zum Auzland* (Frauenfeld, 1882), p. 126.

[3] *Cf.* his letter to the Zurich magistrates from Strassburg, September 17, 1529 (viii., 365 *sqq.*), and that to Philip of Hesse (viii., 665).

Protestantism proceeding from the union of Pope and Emperor. The city of Zurich, acting as the spokesman for all the cities in the Christian Burgher Rights in these special efforts, was represented by Rudolf Collin,[1] who had been present at Zwingli's political discussion with the Landgrave, and knew, therefore, the whole matter, and was Zwingli's choice as delegate to Venice and France. He left Zurich December 11th, and after a somewhat dangerous journey came into the Doge of Venice's presence on December 25th. The mission was in vain, for Venice had just concluded an alliance with the Emperor. Collin was back in Zurich on January 19th, and made a report to the Zurich Senate.[2] It is every way probable that Francis I., King of France, and not Zwingli, made the first overtures toward an alliance, for it is notorious that though Francis I. persecuted the Reformed in France, he was willing to make alliances with the Reformed States because he thought thereby to hurt his foe, the Emperor. That such a union was projected by the French King was perfectly well known.[3] On

[1] See biographical sketch by Konrad Furrer, Halle, 1862 (reprint from *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*), pp. 48 *sqq*.

[2] See Zwingli's planning for the Venetian alliance (ii., 3, 67–68). On December 27, 1529, he learned from Peter Tschudi (viii., 386 *sqq*.) at Coire that the Venetians had made an alliance with the Emperor, so Collin's report did not surprise him. Capito speaks of Collin's reception (viii., 445). It appears from a letter of Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg that even after this rebuff Zwingli still had hopes (viii., 411).

[3] *Cf*. a letter to Zwingli, dated January 18, 1530, wherein two Swiss in the service of the King of France offer their services to bring about a conference between the representative of the King and

February 16th, Lambert Maigret, the French Ambassador, wrote to Zwingli from Baden, fourteen miles north by west of Zurich, acknowledging the receipt of Zwingli's letter upon the subject, and asking for the draught of the proposed alliance with France, as he had done before, but Zwingli refused on February 18th to communicate details of his plans because, among other reasons, he was not quite sure of the sincerity of the King's intentions.[1] Maigret again on February 21st repeated his request to see the plan,[2] and Zwingli at last acquiesced and sent him by Collin a draught of a treaty for the French King to sign,[3] which was acknowledged, on February 27th, by him and his colleague, D'Angerant, at Freiburg, seventy miles south-west of Zurich.[4] Maigret cautiously declared that he could do nothing while the King's sons were in captivity, nor did he dare to send a letter to the King on the matter lest his messenger be seized. And so the negotiations ended. Yet from allusions in his later letters it is evident that Zwingli did not give up all hope of eventually bringing the French King into some sort of an alliance.[5]

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of the Zurich allies (viii., 397). The Landgrave of Hesse took great interest in this mission (*cf.* his letter of February 1, 1530, viii., 404 *sqq.*). As these negotiations were delicate, the Landgrave and the Duke of Wurtemberg in writing to Zwingli employed arbitrary signs in their letters to designate certain persons, mostly sovereigns, and also the correspondents themselves. *Cf.* letter to Zwingli of February 14, 1530 (viii., 411).

[1] VIII., 414.

[2] VIII., 415.

[3] VIII., 416–418. It is undated and unsigned.

[4] VIII., 421–42.

[5] On April 5, 1530, he wrote: "So far as I now see, the French affair hangs fire till the hostages of the King are either returned or

Zwingli hoped to include Ulm in the alliance, but failed through treachery, as he complains.[1] He was suspicious that the French delegates were in secret communication with the Five Forest Cantons and so counselled against a treaty with those cantons.[2] The alliance which Zwingli and Zurich on the one hand and the Landgrave of Hesse on the other were eager to have Bern and the other Swiss Reformed cities make with the Landgrave of Hesse was so

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all hope of recovering them has vanished" (viii., 443). On July 22, 1530, he wrote: "The King of France is feeling great joy, and has himself written that his sons [who had been in Charles V.'s hands since 1526] have been returned" (viii., 483). On January 23, 1531, he wrote, relative to the proposal to include the French King in the Schmalkald League (see next chapter), this extraordinary acquiescence in the latter's hiring the Swiss to fight his battles, which is entirely contrary to Zwingli's previous utterances and conduct in the matter of pensions: "I am of the opinion that public money or allowances which are given for the preservation of peace are for no reason to be abolished, for it is as lawful to receive them as it is tribute or customs; and then the King — or any other ruler, say the Austrian tyrant, will on that account be less likely to be opposed to us. And particularly the King [of France] will on this account oppose us the less, who is assuredly not to be despised. For however he has corrupted our republics by bribery, nay, destroyed them, yet it is clear that he alone thus far is the only one who with the Swiss has opposed the erection of a monarchy or its degeneration, when once erected, into a tyranny. There is a limit to these things. To private subsidies I am altogether opposed, public I am not willing to beg, but will receive when offered. Even Solomon received immense gifts from the Queen of Sheba" (viii., 572). On March 14, 1531, the French delegates, Maigret and Daugertin, addressed him in behalf of their King and tried to get his assent to an alliance (viii., 603 *sq.*).

[1] VIII., 422, 429. Ulm, however, was won for the Reformation (viii., 607 *sq.*).

[2] VIII., 432.

vigorously opposed by Bern that it could not be effected.[1] So the only outlying city to come into the alliance was Strassburg,[2] and this event was celebrated on January 27, 1530, by a joyful feast given in Zurich to the Strassburg commissioners. But the friendly relations between Zwingli and the Landgrave continued all the same. Zwingli kept a close watch upon the Emperor and availed himself of all sources of knowledge as to his movements, which he viewed with great suspicion[3]; for he believed that if the Emperor were able to suppress the Reformation in Germany he would next try to do the same thing in Switzerland.

All knew that much would depend upon the Diet to be held at Augsburg on June 30, 1530. Both parties among the Protestants in the Empire made great preparation to effect their ends in it, but only showed thereby their radical differences, while their rulers, except the Landgrave of Hesse, inclined more or less to make terms with the Emperor for political ends.[4] The Roman Catholics confidently awaited results. Zwingli, on March 26th, offered to attend the Diet under the protection of the Landgrave.[5] But perhaps the Landgrave could not protect him, and so as no one else would, when the time

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[1] VIII., 404, 405; *cf.* 411, 412.

[2] VIII., 383; *cf.* 393.

[3] *Cf.* viii., 422 *sq.*

[4] The situation is plainly laid bare in a letter of Capito to Zwingli written on April 22, 1530 (viii., 445 *sq.*). Butzer shows the general confidence among the Reformed in the Landgrave (viii., 449). So also Capito (viii., 454).

[5] VIII., 438.

came he did not go.[1] Œcolampadius proposed on May 22, 1530, that the three cantons of Zurich, Bern, and Basel should unite in a delegate to Augsburg, who could speak in French, and in connection with the delegates from Strassburg, lay before the Emperor the case of the Reformed.[2]

Although Zwingli was absent his interest in the Diet was intense and his many friends who were present kept him informed of what went on.[3] The expressions his friends used, such as, the "ragings of the Lutherans"; "the deceits of the not too frank Melanchthon";[4] Luther "plays the buffoon,"[5] showed that the Reformed were quite the equals of the Lutherans in suspicion and abuse, and gave no promise that the Diet would not emphasise their unhappy differences. On the other hand, the unfortunate Carlstadt is spoken of very respectfully and even affectionately by the Swiss; probably he was, as Zwingli says, "a very different man from what Luther made him out to be."[6]

[1] Unfortunately his letters, which doubtless threw light upon his motives or those of the Zurich authorities in the matter, have been lost. In view of Zwingli's absence we shall confine ourselves to merely the points of contact between him and the Diet.

[2] VIII., 456. The request for a French speaker is noteworthy in view of the fact that Charles V. opened the Diet in German speech (viii., 469). But this was probably read by him, for it is notorious that he had at least only an imperfect acquaintance with the German (Suppl., p. 38 *sq.*).

[3] *Cf.* viii., 483. The letters of Sturm from Augsburg, May 31 and June 28, 1530, are particularly graphic (viii., 458, 459, 465 *sq.*). *Cf.* also the letters of Butzer in Egli's *Analecta Reformatoria*, i., 44–60.

[4] Both Butzer and Œcolampadius, respectively (viii., 460).

[5] Œcolampadius (viii., 471).

[6] VIII., 461; *cf.* pp. 456–458, 599.

With mutual dislike between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, it is not to be wondered at that it was impossible for the Protestants to present a united front to the common foe, the imperial party and their ecclesiastical allies. The Swiss were so obnoxious to the latter, both as republicans and as aids to the French, that it required courage to show themselves in the Diet, and no prince defended them except the Landgrave of Hesse, and he only secretly.[1] Zwingli was so hated, as being at the bottom of the opposition both religious and political to imperialistic schemes of all kinds, that it would have been useless hardihood for him to have ventured there without protection. Indeed to be a friend of his was sufficient to bring a person into danger, as Capito and Butzer found, who attended the Diet as delegates from Strassburg. So at first they hid themselves, but afterwards emerged.[2]

The confession of faith which the Lutherans presented to the Emperor was accepted by Philip of Hesse.[3] Knowing full well that he could not accept any Lutheran confession of faith, Zwingli prepared inside of three days a brief statement of

[1] VIII., 467; *cf.* p. 473.

[2] Butzer started for Augsburg, Sunday, June 19th; Capito the next day. The distance is about 145 miles in a straight line, running east by a little south from Strassburg. Capito, and probably Butzer also, certainly rode upon the highway which ran through Esslingen, almost due east, near Stuttgart. Butzer arrived at Augsburg on Friday, June 23rd, which was the day before that of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; Capito on Sunday, June 26th (viii., 472, 484).

[3] This action did not prevent Zwingli from writing him a most respectful and admiring letter on June 22nd (viii., 482 *sq.*).

his belief, had it printed in Zurich, signed the preface on July 3rd, the same day sent it by messenger to Augsburg, and curiously enough there he relied upon a Roman Catholic, the Bishop Designate of Constance, to see that the Emperor got it, which he did on July 8th.[1] The Lutherans received it with scorn. But then as the Reformed belittled everything the Lutherans did, it was only tit for tat. Eck made it the occasion of a bitter attack on Zwingli, who replied on August 27, 1530.[2] The Emperor, of course, was totally unaffected by it, probably never read a line of it. But in and out of the Diet it was closely read.[3]

Though the Diet was not dissolved till November 19th, the Landgrave left Augsburg on August 6th. His intention to do so was known to Zwingli, for on August 3rd he endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so, but the letter must have arrived after he had gone.[4] In this month Zwingli again urged Bern to admit the Landgrave into the Christian Burgher Rights.[5] Zwingli considered the threats of the pontifical party as not likely to be carried out, owing to the significant fact that the inhabitants of the German cities, where nominally they were in command, were really disaffected and would prove traitors. They relied upon the divided state

[1] The Confession is given in iv., 3–18 ; the English translation by Rev. Prof. Dr. H. E. Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, ii., 158–179, is reprinted in the Appendix to this volume. Zwingli was probably aware that the South German cities of Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau were about to present a Confession of their own, which they did on July 11th.

[2] IV., 19–41 ; *cf.* viii., 490.

[3] VIII., 486, 487.

[4] VIII., 487.

[5] VIII., 488.

of Protestantism. The way to oppose their stratagems, which so alarmed the Protestants,[1] was in his judgment this:

"The truth must be acknowledged with the greatest boldness, and whatever is due to the Emperor must be promised, provided only that he leaves us full liberty of our faith; unless, indeed, from the Word of God he shall have shown us something else, or by fair, free, and open comparison shall have gained some other victory. If he shall refuse to do this, you will reply that you are grieved that the Emperor has been so deceived by false prophets as to believe that he has a power over your souls and your faith which no devout emperor has ever assumed, or if one has assumed it, no one has ever conceded. And that therefore you will undergo everything rather than move from your position, unless the Word of God move you. Upon this, believe me, the papal party will withdraw. For they know that if they impel the Emperor to the use of force they will speedily go to destruction; for all their possessions are open to pillage, and when these perish the victory is not gained. This knot is to be loosed by means of firmness. If you reply that what I say is true, but that united counsel cannot be reached, I reply that it is possible, only you must always act with prudence, love, and wisdom. When the Roman empire, or any empire, has once begun to suppress a sincere religion, and we neglectfully permit it, we shall be no less guilty of denying or contemning it than the oppressors themselves."[2]

The Strassburg theologians, Capito and Butzer,

[1] VIII., 494, 496, 504.

[2] VIII., 493.

tried faithfully to hit upon some formula relating to the Eucharist which might be acceptable to Lutherans and Reformed alike, and both visited Zwingli, the former on Septemper 4th, and the latter in October. Zwingli agreed to a formula,[1] but such compromises could avail nothing.

The Landgrave requested Zwingli, on January 25, 1530, to write out for him the sermon upon Providence which he had preached at Marburg,[2] and Zwingli complied.[3] On "Monday after Dionysius' Day," *i. e.*, on October 10, 1530, the Landgrave wrote urging him to hasten his admittance into the Christian Burgher Rights, and informing him that he had heard that the Gospel was making great headway in England, and that it would help the truth if some pious and learned man could be sent there to report.[4]

On November 16th there was held in Basel a Diet of the Evangelical cities and the compromise formula of Butzer's upon the Lord's Supper, viz., that the Body and Blood of Christ are really in the Lord's Supper to the spirit, not to the body, was agreed upon. But Zwingli, who was absent, refused to accept the formula, and proposed: "We confess that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacred Supper not as body nor in the nature of body, but sacramentally to the mind that is upright, pure, and

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[1] VIII., 506. [2] VIII., 406.

[3] IV., 79–142. The work is dated August 20, 1530. It is to be hoped that Zwingli did not inflict on the Landgrave in his original sermon all the matter he sent him.

[4] VIII., 534.

BASEL CATHEDRAL.

reverent toward God." [1] He would not depart from what he conceived to be the truth for Luther or anybody else. Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Megander, and Capito also united in a statement of their position, defending the above formula.[2] So Butzer's great scheme of uniting the Protestant host went shipwreck.

[1] VIII., 549. The letter is dated November 20th, and is signed by Heinrich Engelhard, Leo Jud, and Zwingli, the last being named as the author.

[2] VIII., 552.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAST YEAR OF ZWINGLI'S LIFE

1531

ZWINGLI was now the accepted head of the Reformed Church. He stood over against Luther as a great Protestant leader. His contemporaries consulted him or insulted him according as their sympathies were with him or against him. In South Germany and German Switzerland he had his hand upon every religious enterprise. So Zwingli's position towards the Schmalkald League was of general importance.[1] This League was the direct result of the decision of the Diet of Augsburg, November 19, 1530, to give the Protestants until April 15, 1531, to submit to the Church, otherwise they would be proceeded against with arms.

This was considered by the Protestants as intended to force them to make a fight for their rights, and accordingly the Lutheran princes, the Landgrave of Hesse, and others met on December 22, 1530, at Schmalkalden, a town in the present Prussian pro-

[1] Zwingli writes of the meeting at Schmalkalden on January 3, 1531, but expresses an unfavourable opinion upon it (viii., 570).

vince of Hesse-Nassau, twenty miles south-west of Gotha, and resolved to make formal protest against the decree of the Diet and against the crowning of Ferdinand of Austria as German King, and to stand by one another in case any of them was attacked, just as they had met in the previous year (November 25, 1529) in the same place to protest against the decree of the Diet of Spires. As neither of these protests was listened to, on March 29, 1531, the Protestants joined themselves into a League.[1]

In this combination the prime mover was Zwingli's advocate, the Landgrave of Hesse, and as component parts were South German cities in which Zwingli's doctrines had been accepted. It was, therefore, expected that the Swiss cities would

[1] The following princes and cities entered into this League: John the Elector of Saxony; Philip, Ernest, and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick-Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld; the cities of Strassburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. The purposes of the League were thus stated:

"*Whereas*, it was altogether likely that those who had the pure Word of God preached in their territory and thereby had abolished many abuses, were to be prevented by force from continuing this service so pleasing to God; and, *whereas*, it was the duty of every Christian government not only to have the Word of God preached to its subjects, but also as far as possible to prevent their being compelled to fall away from it, they [the princes and the cities named above], solely for the sake of their own defence and deliverance, which both by human and divine right was permitted to every one, had agreed that whenever any one of them was attacked on account of the Word of God and the doctrine of the Gospel, or anything connected therewith, all of the others would immediately come to his assistance as best they could and help to deliver him."

accept the invitation of the Elector of Saxony, coming thus endorsed by so many of their friends, and enter into this League. But once more the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was an obstacle to union. The Elector went so far as to accept the Tetrapolitan creed on this point.[1] So it was hoped by those who wished the Swiss cities to join the League, that Zwingli would let its eucharistic teaching pass without protest.[2] But Zwingli was not so inclined, any more than Luther was.[3] He said:

"The business of the truth is not to be deserted, even to the sacrifice of our lives. For we live not for this age of ours, nor for the princes, but for the Lord. To admit for the sake of the princes any thing that will diminish or vitiate the truth is silly, not to say impious. To have held fast to the purpose of the Lord is to conquer all adversaries."[4]

If the union had not been conditioned upon assent to the Tetrapolitan statement on the Eucharist it might have been effected. But this was the rock upon which it split. A conference of the Swiss Reformed cities was held at Basel on February 13, 1531, to decide upon their action respecting the League.

[1] This was the compromise stated on p. 334. The four cities were Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau. See Schaff, *Creeds*, i., 526–529.

[2] See Capito's letter of January 22, 1531 (viii., 570–572), and the Landgrave's of January 25, 1531. The latter took a business view of the situation, that it was a strife over words and not over facts (viii., 575).

[3] See Butzer's letter of February 6th (viii., 576 *sqq.*).

[4] VIII., 579.

Zwingli was not present, but was represented by Leo Jud. His opinion that it would be a sacrifice of the truth to accept Butzer's ambiguous statement was adopted by the conference, and so the Swiss Protestant cities did not join the League. Zwingli had naturally been enthusiastic for such union. It seemed the fruition of his long-cherished hopes. But he would not surrender his interpretation of the facts concerning the Lord's Supper for any consideration, and Zurich sustained him. Bern inclined to it, alarmed as she was by the Duke of Savoy's attack on Geneva, which she thought inspired by the Emperor and therefore ominous of her own fate, but she followed Zurich's lead.

On March 11th, Zwingli issued his translation of Jeremiah with annotations, and dedicated it to the city of Strassburg, in further recognition of its entering into the Christian Burgher Rights.[1]

An interesting proof of the extent of Zwingli's reputation is a letter written to him from Ghent by John Cousard, who signs himself in Greek, "Bishop of the Brethren of the Common Life," lamenting that Zwingli wrote so much in German, and asking him to have his writings in that language translated into Latin![2] Zwingli replied to it on August 31, 1531,[3] and makes these remarks upon the Apocrypha:[4]

[1] VI., i., 1–201. Butzer was especially pleased with his dedication (viii., 592).

[2] The letter is dated March 17, 1530, but Zwingli's editors follow Simler in thinking it rather 1531, and so transfer it to that latter year (viii., 587–590).

[3] VIII., 639.

[4] VIII., 639.

"There are certain considerations which you adduce from the Apocryphal Books. These, I concede, contain some things that are worth reading; yet they never attain to that measure of authority that the Canonical Books have. They are more diluted and feebler, so that they appear rather as imitations of the former Scriptures than written in the peculiar fervour of the fresh spirit."

Zwingli's eagerness to enlarge the Christian Burgher Rights appeared in his letter to Vadian of April 5th:

"The princes who are on the side of the Gospel are too far away, but the cities of the Christian Alliance are close together and consequently admirably situated for giving mutual aid and counsel, when occasion demands, to whomsoever they should take into friendship. This is what I am trying to accomplish not only this year but continually; but I accomplish little, for some persons are more inert than is right."[1]

A more immediate danger than invasion by the Emperor — which as a matter of fact never took place, since in the providence of God he was diverted, by the necessity of dealing with the Turks, from administering that stern discipline to the recalcitrant Protestant states which he contemplated at Augsburg — was civil war among the German Cantons of Switzerland. The first Cappel war had settled nothing. The Five Cantons paid on October 21, 1530, the war cost, as they were obligated by the treaty to do, but they never lessened an iota

[1] VIII., 593.

their demand to be free to regulate their internal affairs as they pleased, not only in secular but in religious affairs. They complained bitterly in the Diet at Baden on January 7, 1531, of the ill-treatment they had received, especially from Zurich, which had confiscated the lands of the abbey of St. Gall; and all the time they were planning renewal of the alliance with Austria. No one perceived more clearly than Zwingli that war was inevitable, much as he deprecated it. On January 23, 1531, he wrote: "We do not wish to go to war with the Five Cantons, but to restore the lost ones to ourselves, and to themselves, believe me." [1] On February 13, 1531, under his advice and in his words, Zurich at the council of the Evangelical Cantons urged her associates to consider whether the time were not favourable to an attack upon the Five Cantons, in view of the inability of the Emperor to come to their assistance. But the other Evangelical Cantons were not ready for war. On March 7th, Zwingli wrote: "The madness and audacity of the Five Cantons not even the lower regions could endure." [2]

Another Federal Diet was held on March 19th, and Zurich produced her list of complaints against the Five Cantons specifying the instances wherein the Evangelicals had been persecuted. The Forest deputies listened with undisguised indifference, for they had their counterbalancing grievances. While these unprofitable recriminations were going on, deputies from the Grisons appeared appealing for help against the condottieri Giovanni Giacomo de'

[1] VIII., 572. [2] VIII., 586.

Medici,[1] whose three ruined castles of Rocca di Musso look down upon the traveller to-day sailing on Lake Como, as he approaches Dongo, near the head of the lake on the western bank. There, from 1525 to 1531, he resided and thence held sway over the entire lake. It appeared that this free-booter had fallen upon a Grisons deputation (Martin Paul and son) returning home from Milan and murdered them at Reisigen.[2] Simultaneously he had captured Morbegno (east of Como), the key to the Valtellina, the broad valley of the Adda, which was a subject land of the Grisons; and the Grisonsese could not dislodge him, hence they appealed to the confederates for help.[3] The Tyrant of Musso, as he was called, probably acted entirely of his own motion in these proceedings. He had done similar things before against Grisonsese and Grisons territory. But in the excited state of the Evangelicals, especially in Zurich under Zwingli, it is not to be wondered at that the idea found currency, that because the Grisons had accepted the Reformation Musso had been incited to act as he had done by the Emperor and been furnished troops by him; in fact, that this action was the beginning of the long-dreaded imperial invasion of Switzerland to suppress

[1] He pretended to belong to the famous family of that name, but he was really a Medeghino. He was a Milanese and nominal Castellan of Musso as subject of the Duke of Milan, but in reality he was entirely independent.

[2] Bullinger, ii., 355.

[3] Butzer, on March 24th, had heard of the troubles, for he writes from Strassburg: "May God assist the Rhæti" (Grisonsese) (viii., 592).

the Reformation! Consequently the appeal of the Grisonsese produced a cleavage in the Diet. The Evangelicals listened to it and responded with promises of help. The Forest Cantons declined, and their refusal was construed as showing that they had some sort of secret understanding with the Emperor. That they rejoiced over the misfortune of the Reformed probably was true, but their refusal was natural in view of the refusal of the Grisons to aid them in 1529 and of the confessional differences which were so much emphasised. It was, however, another of the unhappy differences which issued quickly in civil war.

The Protestant Cantons sent eleven thousand men to the aid of the Grisonsese. The Musso troops were driven out of their territory; the lord of Musso was besieged in his castle. Then the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza II.) in May took up the war as his own and all but two thousand of the Swiss retired. On September 29, 1531, the Duke's legate, Panizzone, asked Zurich for powder.[1] The castle was in the next year taken and demolished.

Zwingli, in writing to Vadian on April 5, 1531,[2] thus expresses himself upon the matter:

"How much circumspection is now needed we see who have hitherto been blinder than moles, when great armies are sent into the passes of the Alps, principally because the Emperor with all his councils or parliaments defends not a robber or a parricide, but a violator of the law of nations. For even if this man had been his own brother

[1] VIII., 646. [2] VIII., 593.

he ought to have given him up after so infamous and unheard-of a crime. Will posterity ever believe that the Ambassador was not merely intercepted but seized, with his son and the horses they were riding, and tortured and mangled as by the hand of a butcher? And so this is what I ask of you; for I see that some of whom this same thing has been asked are moving too slowly. In any way you can, assemble the faithful of Lindau, and through them those of Isny and Memmingen also. I mean those who are on the side of the Gospel and in the government, and are such that they may be trusted with what you have to say to them. Assemble them that they may look after the interests of the Gospel."[1]

Zwingli was clearly of the opinion that one of two ways should be adopted to bring the Forest Can-

[1] The pastor at Tällicon gave him on April 12th an account of the military expedition (viii., 594), and Comander another on April 27th (viii., 598), from which latter letter it appears that the Forest Cantons afterwards joined in the attack on Musso. Comander, on May 31st, says: "The robber Musso had a breathing spell when we retired, and he is enrolling soldiers anew" (viii., 607). On June 4th Zwingli says: "Our men have returned from a siege of Musso, except 2000. It is reported that to-day, June 4th, the people of Musso made a rally resulting in a considerable slaughter on both sides, *i. e.*, proportionally. For the rest there were few in the citadel and those in our own guard were fewer. They arose in a certain canton and scattered the army of the Duke. Ours is safe, with the exception of the loss reported. It appears that the Duke of Milan is, or at least his followers are, acting deceitfully. The Grisonsese are sending heavy reinforcements" (viii., 607). On June 22nd, he heard very circumstantially about the progress of the war, especially in commendation of Stephen Zellar (viii., 613), who, on July 4th, himself wrote, imploring Zwingli to refute the calumnies which had been circulated about him (viii., 616). On July 5th he heard again (viii., 622). From these letters it appears that the Grisonsese, for whose benefit Zurich meddled in the war, had acted badly.

tons to terms, either to invade them in such overwhelming force as would defeat them out of hand, or else to dissolve the Confederacy[1] and make a new alliance which should leave them out.

In view of the dangers evidently impending, Zwingli welcomed any aid the Protestant Swiss could get, and so continued or renewed correspondence with Lambert Maigret and Daugertin, the legates of the French King in Switzerland, and with Panizzone, the legate of the Duke of Milan.[2] On May 14th, the former wrote to him a very friendly letter,[3] stating that the French King had sent a nobleman to the delegates urging them to do all they could to establish a lasting peace among the Swiss and laying great stress upon its desirability, indeed, its necessity. They were urgent, in view of the convention which was to be held in Zurich on May 15th, to decide upon Zurich's course.

The convention was held, and the decision was that the only way to force the Forest Cantons to abolish pensions and give free course to the preaching of the Gospel was for the Protestant Cantons to declare an embargo against them in the matter of wheat, wine, salt, iron, and steel. All these articles the Protestant Cantons were to refuse to sell to the Forest Cantons, so long as the latter remained recalcitrant. This was the counsel of Bern as the

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[1] Bullinger, ii., 368.

[2] *Cf.* letter from the Duke, dated Milan, September 17, 1531 (viii., 645). For the relations between Zwingli and Sforza, see the letters in *Historischer Jahrbuch der italienschen Schweiz*, xv. (1893).

[3] VIII., 603.

alternative of war which Zurich favoured, and it was strenuously opposed by Zwingli and Zurich.[1] Zwingli, in his sermon the Sunday following (May 21st), took occasion to comment upon the action of the convention, which he read, and set forth how unjust it was to involve the innocent with the guilty.[2]

But, though contrary to Zurich's judgment, as the convention had declared for the embargo, it was administered by her to the letter, and produced the foretold results of hatred and dread, and another result not foretold, viz.: Zwingli was considered the author of all the trouble, both by the Forest Canton people and by those Zurichers who were either favourable to pensions or directly affected commercially by the embargo. Zwingli took this much to heart, and perceiving that even the City Council had in it those who so cruelly misjudged him, he appeared before that body on July 26th and asked permission to lay down his office. On July 28th he alludes to the heavy load of preaching and teaching he had been so long carrying.[3] This permission the Council refused and prevailed upon him on July 29th to withdraw his request.[4] His action seemed to have had a tonic effect upon the Council, which henceforth stood firm for the gospel.[5]

Meanwhile ambassadors from the French King, Milan, and Nuremberg, were urging upon the Evangelicals and the Forest Cantons the necessity

[1] Bullinger, ii., 383.
[2] *Ibid.*, 388.
[3] VIII., 626–627.
[4] Bullinger, iii., 45.
[5] VIII., 634.

of keeping the peace. On June 4th, Zwingli wrote to his friends at Ulm:

"The ambassadors of the French King are with us for the purpose of making peace among the Swiss. The Five Cantons are unwilling to admit the preaching of the Word, a thing which the ambassadors have demanded of them. For when the latter first arrived, they asked the Council to show them the way in which peace could be had. Whereupon the Council replied that if they hoped that the Five Cantons would suffer the Word of God to be preached and would keep this condition of peace—not to persecute our faith, either among their people or ours, we would suffer the matter of peace and friendship to be considered. To these half-confidential inquiries of the ambassadors they made the reply I have given above—that they would not suffer the preaching of the Word of God as we understand it, etc., but that in other matters they would do all in accordance with the provisions of the treaty and the conditions." [1]

On July 25th, he was informed that the French King was seeking to unite the people of Coire to himself.[2] On August 16th, Capito, writing from Strassburg, urges him to do his utmost either for settled peace or open war with the Forest Cantons.[3]

Joined to the direct action of the ambassadors were the efforts of the delegates of the cantons, who met six successive times that year at Bremgarten, some ten miles west of Zurich, to hit upon some compromise which might be generally acceptable.[4]

[1] VIII., 607. [2] VIII., 626. [3] VIII., 633.
[4] Concord at times seemed near. *Cf.* viii., 611, 623.

One night, while these negotiations were going on, apparently on the night of St. Lawrence's Day (August 10th), Zwingli secretly came to Bremgarten and conferred, at the house of Bullinger, with the Bernese delegates,[1] and urged upon them the necessity of striking a telling blow at the Foresters, lest by the dilly-dallying tactics the enemy became too strong for them to overcome. But as the Evangelicals insisted upon the Forest Cantons giving free course to their preachers, and the Forest Cantons wanted first of all the removal of the embargo, the negotiations were fruitless. On August 20th, Œcolampadius despaired of keeping peace, and wrote[2]: "About concord with the Five Cantons, some have hope; I hope I am mistaken, but I fear that unless one party humiliates itself or is humiliated, there is practically no chance of it." On September 25th, Butzer informed Zwingli that if peace could be preserved the Christian Burgher Rights would be enlarged by several towns he could mention, and added: "I prefer this to victory over the Forest Cantons unless the latter were a bloodless one."[3]

Calumnies on both sides fanned the flames of mutual distrust among the Evangelicals and Catholics. One of these calumnies, and a particularly gross one against himself, Zwingli vehemently denounced in a letter,[4] which, however, he did not send, to an unnamed and personally unknown man in Wallis (Valais), the south-west canton of Switzerland, bordering on Savoy.

[1] Bullinger, iii., 48.
[2] VIII., 634.
[3] VIII., 646.
[4] VIII., 610, 611.

A letter written "Wednesday after Ulrich's Day," *i. e.*, July 5th, tells of the determination of Schwyz to get food at all hazards, by force of arms if necessary. Food was scarce all over Switzerland that year, which made the embargo all the severer for the Forest Cantons.[1]

But Zwingli had some other things to contemplate than the approaching civil war. His good friend Œcolampadius wrote him on July 20th, from Basel, that the book of Michael Servetus upon the "Errors Respecting the Trinity," was being circulated there, that he considered it thoroughly blasphemous, although some of the Strassburgers praised it! He offered to send him a copy if he had not seen it.[2]

On July 31st, Œcolampadius informed him:

"We have remodelled the theological lectures after the pattern of your church. A Hebrew professor lectures on the Old Testament and a Greek on the New. I myself am to add a theological exposition in Latin on both to their more purely grammatical ones. Paul will conclude with a discourse in the vernacular."[3]

On August 13th, the same writes a most interesting letter upon the attempt of Henry VIII. to obtain a divorce from Catherine.[4] The King had

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[1] *Cf.* viii., 622.

[2] The printer was Secerius of Hagenau in Elsass; the publisher was Conrad Koenig of Jena, Basel, and Strassburg, who was agent for Luther's works (Putnam, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages*, ii., 231). For analysis and comments of Servetus's book, see Schaff, *Hist. Christ. Ch.*, vii., 715–720.

[3] VIII., 629.

[4] VIII., 631 *sq.*

sought through Grynæus the advice of Œcolampadius, who in turn consulted Zwingli. Œcolampadius considered that there was no ground for divorce. Zwingli's letter in reply is lost; its purport is known from the reply of Œcolampadius[1]; he was adverse, as also was Grynæus.[2] Capito and Butzer would permit Henry to have two wives![3]

Butzer on September 13th informed him of the results of the meeting at Schmalkalden and of other matters in the gossipy style of Capito.[4] Two characteristically fervid letters from the impetuous but spiritual and energetic Farel reached Zwingli that year.[5] They must have cheered his soul greatly.

As the year wore on it was increasingly plain that war was inevitable, and Nature seemed to Zwingli to prophesy disaster. Zurich was again visited by the plague, though not in severe form. Like others of his time, Zwingli believed in signs and portents and had a lingering faith in astrology. So he was greatly disturbed at an extraordinary communication from Schenkenberg, near Brugg, in Aargau, some seventeen miles north by west of Zurich, written by the magistrate of the village and dated July 29, 1531, to the effect that on July 24th blood had been seen issuing in a stream from the earth![6]

[1] VIII., 634.

[2] VIII., 635; *cf.* for Butzer, viii., 644.

[3] Melanchthon also, *Corpus Reformatorum*, ii., 520.

[4] VIII., 643.

[5] VIII., 647, 648. They are the last letters in the Zwingli Correspondence.

[6] VIII., 628.

Other equally circumstantial reports of uncommon physical phenomena were: that at Zug, some fifteen miles south of Zurich, on Lake Zug, a shield had been seen in the air; on the river Reuss, which runs into Lake Zug, shots were heard at night; on the Bruenig Pass, some twenty-five miles south of Luzern, flags flew in the heavens, and on the Lake of Luzern phantom ships sailed filled with ghosts in warriors' garb. At Goostow, in the county of Grönningen, belonging to Zurich, a poor peasant woman, Beatrice of Marckelssheim, bore a child that had two heads with faces, three legs, and three arms, but only one body. Two of the arms hung from the sides as usual, but the third came out of the back between the shoulders, and had on the end two hands clasped. Two of the legs were also normal, but the third hung from behind for all the world like a tail! One of the heads died in the birth, the other lived a short time after it.[1] But still more alarming was the comet, of which Zwingli writes, on August 16th: "Some have seen a comet here in Zurich for three nights. I for one only, *i. e.*, August 15th; what we shall see to-day, the 16th, I don't know."[2] Bullinger thus relates the incident:

"Upon [St.] Lawrence [day, Thursday, August 10, 1531], appeared at sunset a right fearful comet whose long and broad tail stretched to mid heaven. The colour was pale yellow. And when Zwingli was asked what it meant by George Müller, abbot at Wittengen, as stand-

[1] Bullinger, iii., 47.

[2] VIII., 634.

ing in the churchyard of the Great Minster, near the Wettinger House, they contemplated it together, he replied : ' Dear George, it will cost me and many an honest man his life, and truth and Church will yet suffer ; still Christ will not desert us.' "[1]

As really nothing had been done to avert the war, every day, of course, brought it nearer. So on September 9th the Zurich Council adopted a plan of campaign, and appointed Rudolph Lavater, a good friend of Zwingli's and of the Reformation, leader of the forces. But the Council, like the citizens generally, were not eager to fight. Many hoped that something would arise to prevent hostilities; many secretly sympathised with the Forest Cantons, some because they still adhered to the Old Faith, and some because they considered the Foresters unjustly handled, or because of business interests. Zwingli had only the gloomiest forebodings, and he uttered them in his sermons.[2] In his last letter to Œcolampadius he expressed himself as seeing the sword drawn and prepared to do the duty of a faithful watcher upon the walls. But he had no expectation of victory.

On October 4th, the Forest Cantons assembled their forces at Zug; unopposed they moved them to the very borders of the Zurich canton; and still the Zurich Council made no move.[3]

[1] Bullinger, iii., 46.

[2] *Cf. Ibid.*, 52.

[3] For the fight at Cappel the classical monograph is *Die Schlacht von Cappel, 1531. Mit zwei Plänen und einem Anhange ungedruckter Quellen.* Von Emil Egli. Zürich: Friedrich Schulthess, 1873. This author was *vicar* in Cappel, 1870–71, and so had the best oppor-

On Monday, October 9th, the Forest Cantons' troops crossed the border. The news reached Zurich, only twelve miles away, almost due north, that evening. The Council was hastily called, the wager of battle accepted, George Göldli appointed leader of the advance guard, and orders given to make the start the next morning. Accordingly, at noon on Tuesday, October 10th, a little band left the city for Cappel, ten miles south. As it moved along it received accessions from the villages it passed, so that when it reached Cappel that evening it numbered twelve hundred men. The artillery arrived in the night. The general call to arms and the appeal for help from their allies were made by the Zurich Council that afternoon. It was early on Wednesday, October 11th, before the main army of fifteen hundred men, if it could be called an army, was under way. Zwingli, according to Swiss custom, as chief pastor, bore the banner, on horseback. He wore a helmet, a shirt of mail, and a side sword, such as every prominent man in that time carried, and from his saddle hung a hand-gun — the weapon out of which the pistol was evolved.[1] As he rode along he heard mutterings, "He ought to ride

tunity to study the battle-field and the battle, which he did with all necessary assistance. He became tutor in the University of Zurich in 1880; professor extraordinary, 1889; and a little later full professor of Church History. He edits *Zwingliana*, the organ of Zwingli studies (Zurich, 1897 *sqq.*). I have followed his account with readings from Bullinger, the best contemporary witness, and from Staehelin.

[1] See the exhaustive and authoritative study of Zwingli's weapons by H. Zeller-Weidmuller in *Zwingliana*, Zurich, 1899, No. 2, pp. 105–108. They are now, except the shirt, which has perished,

first, for he brought it all on!" His horse had shied when he first attempted to mount, and this seemed to him and to the onlookers a bad sign. He never expected to see his friends again in this life.

All about him was confusion. He had urged that the start should not be made till the full complement of four thousand troops was secured, but instead it was made with fifteen hundred. There were not enough horses to pull the cannon. There was no discipline. The host was more a rabble than an army. Lavater was the leader of this the main body.

When it came up it found the advance guard under Göldli, which had been at Cappel since Tuesday night, already in the presence of their foes. Göldli had been strictly charged by the Council not to take the offensive, but to await the arrival of the reinforcements. On Wednesday morning, probably perceiving that the enemy were about to attack him, he picked out a place to give battle. The ground all about Cappel was rolling, but the high ground he chose had a ditch filled with water behind it, much wood around it, and swampy land on the north, east, and south![1] There the few troops he had stood while the enemy advanced upon them.

The battle began at midday. The Foresters were well ordered and well led, yet the first onslaught

preserved in the New Landesmuseum in Zurich. The sword measures 1.08 metres in length; the hand-gun, 86 centimetres—approximately 40 and 34 inches respectively.

[1] See the plan of the battle.

ZWINGLI DEPARTING FOR THE BATTLE OF CAPPEL, OCT. 11, 1531.

was repelled by the Zurich artillery. Then the enemy shifted their ground and approached from the side. As they were toilsomely crossing the swamp, dragging their cannon, the Zurichers might have struck a fatal blow, but Göldli refused to give the order, and so the Foresters by 3 P.M. arrived safely at an elevation backed by a piece of the woods on the east of the Zurichers, which was vantage ground. This was the state of things when Lavater arrived that afternoon on the hill Albis, whence he could survey the entire field. It required but a glance to assure him that the situation was desperate, and, tired as the troops were after their march, he yet determined to go to the assistance of his countrymen. So Zwingli advised:

"If we wait here till the rest come up in their leisurely fashion, then I apprehend it will be too late to help our countrymen. We must not stand here and see our friends suffer defeat. I go to them and am prepared either to die with and among them or to succour them, as God pleases." [1]

Battle was resumed late in the afternoon of that day, Wednesday, October 11, 1531, and the Zurichers were attacked on east and south at the same time. Both sides hurled opprobrious epithets against one another. "Worshippers of idols!" "Godless papists!" cried the one; "Sacrilegious scamps!" "Damned heretics!" cried those on the other side.

Supported by their artillery, the Zurichers at first held their own. Lavater encouraged them by his

[1] Bullinger, iii., 123.

presence in the front rank and his pious speech. Zwingli stood by him, although he took no part in the fighting, and was heard to say: "Brave fellows, take heart and fear nothing. We suffer, if we must, in a good cause. Commend yourselves to God, who is able to care for us and ours. God's will be done!"[1]

But it was an unequal fight,—eight thousand Foresters, desperate, united, well armed, against two thousand seven hundred Zurichers, disordered and ill prepared, and the majority of them wearied with their long march. The Zurichers fought heroically, and sold their lives dear, but after a time the fight became a rout, and the road to Zurich was filled with fugitives.

And Zwingli was among the slain! Wounded twice in the legs by a spear and his helmet shivered, as it even now bears witness, by a stone, he had fallen down. One of the Foresters, out plundering the dead and wounded, found him lying on his back, his hands folded as in prayer, and his eyes directed to heaven. In kindly fashion he offered to call a priest to hear his dying confession. Unable to speak, Zwingli shook his head. The Forester then said: "If you cannot speak or make confession, pray in your heart to the Mother of God, and call upon the saints, that God in His grace may accept you." Zwingli again shook his head, and continued to look heavenwards. This action marked him as a Protestant. Other Foresters had meanwhile come up. Among them was a captain from

[1] Bullinger, iii., 127.

(E. Egli fec.)

Mühlegraben
600 M.
Graben
Mühlgraben
Hausacker
Scheuren
Hanfbünt
Kloster
Sennhof
Kloster
Cappeler Matten
Moos
Moos
Buch Wäldchen
Leyen Bühl
Kalchofenfeld
Obenfeld
n. Forstweg
n. Forstweg
600 M. u. Mehr
600 M.
600 M.
600 M.

Unterwald. He joined the others in reviling the then unrecognised man for his Reformed faith, and, calling him a heretic, who did not deserve to live, drew his sword and gave Zwingli his release from life.[1]

So in the midst of his dead friends and living foes lay the body of the man who had brought the Reformation into German Switzerland. Zwingli was unknown by face to the men who saw him die. But later he was recognised, and then, alas! his body was treated disgracefully, for his name was to each Forester synonymous with all that in religion and politics he had been taught to hate.

The news spread through the host that Zwingli, the arch heretic, the author of all the misery which had come upon the Forest Cantons, had been killed. The next morning, Thursday, October 12th, his body was gazed upon by an enormous throng, who reviled him,—except one man, Hans Schönbrunner, an old priest living at Zug, but formerly a canon of the Great Minster, and colleague of Zwingli, who to his immortal honour had the courage to say, ad-

[1] *Cf.* Bullinger, iii., 136. According to tradition Zwingli died beneath a pear tree which stood on the east side of the present road upon a little mound. Its successor stands there to-day. On the alleged place of his dead body is a rough stone, fifteen feet high, set up in 1837. On the front is this inscription, in Latin: "Here Ulrich Zwingli, who was with Martin Luther in the Sixteenth Century after the birth of Christ, the founder of the emancipated Christian Church, died in the sure hope of immortality on the 11th of October, 1531, bravely fighting, even against his brethren, for truth and country." On the back is this German inscription: "'You can kill the body, but you cannot kill the soul.' So said on this spot Ulrich Zwingli, as he lay dying on October 11, 1531, the hero's death for truth and for the freedom of the Christian Church."

dressing Zwingli's corpse: "Whatever your religious belief was, I know that you have been a good Confederate. May God forgive your sins!"[1]— but this declaration had no effect upon the rest. The punishment of a traitor to his country was meted out to his dead body, for it was quartered by the hangman, and then, as the punishment of a heretic was according to imperial law, its sections were mixed with dung and burnt.[2]

The battle of Cappel was for the Zurichers a Flodden Field,[3] for probably every prominent Zurich family was called to mourn its dead. Among the five hundred slain — eloquent though silent witnesses to the brave resistance they had made and the desperate attempt at any cost to repel the foe — were seven members of the Small and nineteen of the Great Council, and almost all the principal captains; while as interested spectators at the struggle and victims of it were seven clergymen of the city and eighteen of the canton outside; and the roster of the slain included Zwingli, the greatest of them all, and his brother-in-law, stepson, and son-in-law!

The Foresters captured a great quantity of arms,

[1] Bullinger, iii., 167.

[2] Egli, p. 44. See the curious tale about his heart in Myconius, p. 14.

[3] The famous battle of Flodden Field was fought between James IV., the King of Scotland, and the Earl of Sussex on September 9, 1513. The result was the complete defeat of the Scotch. It was the feature that among the slain were the Scotch King and so many of the nobility that scarcely a noble Scotch family but had one dead upon that fateful field, which particularly makes the defeat of the Zurichers at Cappel a parallel.

in fact nearly all the Zurichers had brought to the field, and their own loss was small. But knowing full well that the allies of Zurich and the reserves would be too much for them if they ventured farther into Zurich territory, the Foresters remained on the field of Cappel three days to revel and feast, and then withdrew to Zug. Thither the allies came up as was expected, but the Foresters on October 24th attacked them successfully. Magnanimous counsels prevailed, and instead of following up their advantage the Foresters remembered that the allies were fellow Swiss and concluded with them the Second Peace of Cappel (November 20th). Naturally this second peace was no repetition of the first. Now the men of the Old Faith dictated the terms to the Evangelicals. Zwingli's dream of propagating the Gospel in the Forest Cantons was not realised. Each side stayed in the faith it had adopted and engaged not to molest the other. Neither side was to make the religious faith of the other a matter of reproach. The Christian Burgher Rights were dissolved, and all the special provisions of the First Treaty of Cappel were abrogated. Zurich had to return her share in the war cost that the Foresters had paid the allies, and to redeem in money such prisoners as had not been exchanged.

But the greatest loss by the Evangelical German Swiss was, after all, not in money or territory, but in hope. They had expected to impress their ideas upon all Switzerland. After the defeat of October 11th they lost hope of doing so. Still, what they had gained was substantially held, and German

Switzerland in general has remained to this day Reformed.

Anna Reinhard, the widow of the Reformer, found in Heinrich Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, a protector and friend. He took her and her children into his own family and cared for her until her death in December, 1538, after a few weeks' illness. He also educated Zwingli's children.

William, Zwingli's eldest son, born in 1526, after studying in Zurich went to Strassburg to complete his education, but there died of the plague in 1541. Ulrich, born January 6, 1528, who is said to have been the image of his father, studied at Basel, became a clergyman, *diakonus* in the Great Minster in Zurich in his nineteenth year, professor of Hebrew in 1556, of theology in 1557; he married Bullinger's daughter Anna. She died of the plague in 1565. Regula, the eldest daughter, born in 1525, who is said to have been the image of her mother, married on August 3, 1541, when in her seventeenth year, Bullinger's foster-son, Rudolf Gualther, a brilliant man, born in Zurich, November 9, 1519; studied at Basel, Strassburg, Lausanne, and Marburg, and in 1542 became pastor of St. Peter's in Zurich, and so remained the rest of his life. In 1547 he brought out the first edition of Zwingli's works, himself translating into Latin all the hitherto untranslated German treatises. He succeeded Bullinger in the office of chief city pastor in 1575. After Regula died of the plague (November 14, 1565), he married Anna, daughter of Thomas Blarer, formerly burgomaster of Constance. Gualther died December 25,

ZWINGLI'S DAUGHTER REGULA IN 1549, AT THE AGE OF 25, AND HIS GRANDDAUGHTER, AT THE AGE OF 7.

1586. With Zwingli's son Ulrich the male line of the Reformer died out. Those at present tracing their ancestry to the Reformer's family do so to a brother in Wildhaus. Zwingli had still a fourth child, a daughter Anna, born in 1530, who died in infancy.[1]

Over the dead Zwingli adherents of the old faith and Lutherans poured their vitriol of hatred and ignorance.[2] Even in Zurich there were many to curse him as responsible for their sorrows. His friends, however, there and in the canton generally were in the majority, and they justified his actions and defended his memory. Outside of the canton of Zurich, in Bern, Basel, and Southern Germany, he had many adherents who held him dear and were greatly stirred by his death. But even these friends did not continue his work. None of them pushed the Reformation further on his lines, and in theology, whether they had not fully understood him, or had been forced into acquiescence, but not into real acceptance, by his steady glance, at all events, with few exceptions, they rapidly removed from his positions, especially regarding the sacraments. To-day he is, even in Switzerland, a faint memory, and thousands of Protestants outside of Switzerland do not even know his name. The at-

[1] For these details as to the family see Solomon Hess, *Anna Reinhard, Gattin und Wittwe von Ulrich Zwingli Reformator*. 2nd ed. Zurich, 1820. See his index.

[2] See the judgments upon his death by his contemporaries in A. Erichson, *Zwingli's Tod und dessen Beurtheilung durch Zeitgenossen*, Strassburg, 1883. The words of triumph and cursing uttered by Lutherans and others were shameful and almost inhuman.

tention he has received from students is comparatively small. There are, however, signs of revival of interest in the able and lovable stalwart Swiss, sincere Christian, and uncompromising foe to sham in religion. The explanation of this neglect lies at hand. Five years after Zwingli died there began at Geneva the memorable career of John Calvin. To him and not to Zwingli, the Reformed Church now looks in reverence. From him and not from the earlier founder that Church now dates its existence. No one can fail to acknowledge that Calvin was the greater man, but Zwingli was also highly endowed, an equally devoted servant of truth, and a more attractive personality. All honour to Calvin, the hero of the Faith, but all honour, too, to Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

ZWINGLI'S THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS

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THE Protestant Reformation rendered two separate and great services in the realm of thought to its age and to the world. One of these was in the protest which it delivered against the Roman doctrinal system; and the other was in its positive contribution to the enrichment and development of Christian theology. The Roman idea of human merit and its relation to salvation had led to a conception of grace, of the operation of the sacraments, of the atonement and the divine forgiveness, to a system of morals, and to methods of discipline, which the adherents of the Protestant faith declared must be swept away, with all their practical consequences in the conception and the conduct of life, and in their stead new conceptions must be introduced. But the system of thought was even then defective. It was not up to the level of Christian experience. It had to be enlarged and perfected. A new doctrine, justification by faith, had to be adjusted to the old, and to be supplemented by a group of

other new doctrines which should first bring the system into some degree of completeness. This work Protestantism also undertook, and under its able leaders in Wittenberg it gave to the Christian world the first system of Christian dogmatics which could claim to have treated the doctrines of grace with anything like the necessary fulness, and to have welded them into a consistent whole with the heritage which had come down from the ancient and uncorrupted Church.

To obtain a complete view of Zwingli's theology, both of these elements in the general work of Protestantism must be brought into the consideration, for they are both represented in his labours. With the rest of the Reformers he was led to those general positions in respect to the sole mediatorship of Jesus Christ, salvation by faith in Him, the helplessness of man as a sinner, and the authority of the Christian congregation in distinction from the papacy, which constituted the more direct recoil from Rome. In all these doctrines Zwingli showed marked independence of view, vigour, and originality, but in none of them did he render any service that could be called especially his own, or bring out anything which belongs properly to his contributions to the system of developed Protestant doctrine. For our present purpose our theme, therefore, admits of a limitation. We do not need to pass in review every doctrine which Zwingli held, not even every one which he wrought out independently, and which in another environment would have to be reckoned to his most marked service. He was as

clear as Luther upon the doctrine of justification by faith, and entirely independent in his method of approach to it and in his manner of holding it. But as historians we must ascribe that doctrine to Luther and not to Zwingli. Luther alone gave it to the world and made it the rallying cry of the mighty movement. But Zwingli had his own peculiar field, and to this we must give more especial attention.

A word needs to be said as to the underlying philosophy of Zwingli before we enter upon the direct consideration of that which is more distinctively theological. He brought with him to the construction of his theology, from the formative and educational period of his life, two great currents of influence, the one having its origin in the enthusiasm for liberal culture nourished by the period of the Renaissance, and the other springing from the fountain of the New Testament Scriptures. The latter made his theology biblical and Protestant; the former gave to it its liberal tone. Many individual ideas may be traced to a classic origin which might be denominated not improperly philosophical. Zwingli was not without something which may be styled a philosophy of a very great type. But it cannot be said that his system was dominated by the philosophy of the ancient or even of the mediæval schools. He followed a distinct trend of thought upon the themes embraced within the scope of philosophy, but it is a trend developed in the Christian Church and distinctly belonging to theology. It has its roots in the Hebrew religion. It was held by those

writers in the Old Testament who attributed all agency, even that producing evil, to God. Among Christian theologians, the first to express it with so great emphasis as to associate his own name with it was Augustine. Augustinianism has been a synonym for stress laid upon the sovereignty of God. It was Augustine's favourite thought that "everything good was either God or from God." The same tendency had its representatives in the Middle Ages, and among them was Thomas Aquinas. It reappeared in the Reformation in Luther's doctrine of predestination and of the bondage of the will, in which, for a purely religious reason, Luther affirms in the strongest way the absolute and sole causality of God. In the year 1520, long before the controversy with Erasmus had given occasion to a flow of feeling which may seem to have been unfavourable to impartial thought, he wrote: "I would that the word 'free-will' had never been invented; neither is it in the Scripture, and might better be called self-will, which is of no use."[1] Later he derives the sole causality of God from His omnipotence, and rejoices in it as in the ground of the Christian's confidence in God, since God thus foreknows everything, and hence proposes and performs everything, He can therefore never be defeated. "By this thunderbolt," he says, "is cast down and ground to powder the freedom of the will."[2] Luther's doctrine was far more the result of his general point of view and of his impressions as to

[1] *Werke*, Erlangen edition, xxiv., 146.

[2] *De Servo Arbitrio*, cap. xvii.

the necessary foundation of the doctrines of grace, than of any philosophical opinions he held. The same is true of Calvin, whose position is too well known to require even a mention here. Zwingli shared the same atmosphere with these other Reformers, was moved by the same great spiritual opposition to Rome, which had practically, if not confessedly, taken the opposing view, and hence it was natural that he should revert to Augustinianism, as they did. And thus we find him, for the most part from purely theological interests, upon the side of that philosophical doctrine which exalts the sovereignty of God.

It would, therefore, be of little value if we sought to trace the system of Zwingli to any distinct philosophical root. What biblical elements there are in it will best appear if we simply follow in the natural line of exposition as his system is presented in his principal dogmatic writings. Of these there is an interesting series brought out by the special exigencies of Zwingli's public life. We need consider only his "Sixty-Seven Articles," with the "Explanation" of the same,[1] the "Christian Introduction"[2] (all of the year 1523), the "Commentary on True and False Religion"[3] (1525), the confession of faith presented to the Diet of Augsburg (1530) and entitled *Ratio Fidei*,[4] the treatise upon "Divine Providence" (1530),[5] and his last important production, published posthumously, the "Explanation of the

[1] Zwingli, *Werke*, ed. Schuler u. Schulthess, i., 169–424.
[2] *Ibid.*, i., 541–565.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii., 145–325.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv., 1–18.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv., 79–144.

Christian Faith" (1531).[1] The earlier of these are of great historical interest, and the last is not without dogmatic importance; but the central member of the group, the elaborate and comprehensive "Commentary," written after his views had attained maturity and consistency, must ever remain the chief source of information as to his theological system, and will be the best starting-point in our exposition.

This work opens with a definition of religion as the system which comprises the whole of Christian piety, viz., its faith, life, rites, laws, and sacraments. As such, it is fundamentally a relation existing between God and man, and hence, to understand it, the terms between which it exists must be understood first. Hence the treatise begins with the doctrine of God. We thus meet the first and most important peculiarity of the Zwinglian system, the prominence given to the doctrine of God, at the outset of our study. It is now to be noted that it flows naturally out of his conception of religion, and that he could scarcely begin at any other great doctrine, having once defined religion as he does. The Lutheran theology was anthropological in its starting-point, and was determined largely by this element, in spite of the emphasis laid upon the divine causality by Luther, because its absorption in the spiritual experience which gave it its birth kept the eye fixed upon man rather than upon God.

Zwingli opens the discussion of the doctrine of God by considering His knowability. Although it

[1] Zwingli, *Werke*, ed. Schuler u. Schulthess, iv., 42–78.

may be above human understanding to know *what* God is, it is not above it to know *that* He is. Hence, the knowledge of God's existence is obtained from the light of nature; and nature is itself defined, in accordance with the tendency to exalt God which we are now noting, as "the continual and perpetual operation of God and His disposition of all things." [1] Thus the heathen have known the existence of God and some even His unity, though these have been few. But believers advance far beyond this. They are such as not only know that there is one only omnipotent and true God, but have more than a mere knowledge, since they trust in Him alone. They thus know in some measure what He is, but not from the unaided operation of their own faculties or from any merely human instruction which they may receive. The Scriptures testify that God is a hidden God, and that only the Spirit of God possesses knowledge of Him so as to become the source of knowledge to human hearts. Hence it is deception and false religion to pretend to derive the knowledge of God from philosophy. It is produced by the power and grace of Him in whom believers trust. The only source of the knowledge of God, in the full and Christian sense of such a word, is, therefore, the "mouth of God," by which term Zwingli designates the Bible, illuminated to the reader by the Spirit in his heart.

Upon such a basis, the discussion of the nature of God must be a purely biblical discussion, and Zwingli begins his treatment of this point with a

[1] Zwingli, *Werke*, ed. Schuler u. Schulthess, iii., 156.

study of Exodus iii., 14: "I am that I am." This is interpreted to mean that God is "the sole essence of all things" (*solum rerum omnium Esse*).[1] The word "essence" is here to be understood, apparently, as signifying the true being, the fundamental and ultimate reality of all things. Zwingli does not intend to identify God with nature in the pantheistic fashion, or to anticipate later idealism in what men have often attributed to it,—the denial of the existence of matter; but it is his design rather to refer nature entirely to God as its living energy. Thus he declares this to be "first in the knowledge of God, that we should know that He is, who is nature, who is Himself, and receives His existence from no one else."[2]

But now God not only is and is independent of all other existence, but He has a determinate and definite existence. "That being is as really good as He is being."[3] Zwingli thus passes from the nature to the attributes of God, at the summit of which, as the comprehensive expression of them all, he puts goodness. This very comprehensiveness of goodness will, however, be seen somewhat to modify its meaning. The proof of the goodness of God is drawn from the world which He has made. If this be "good," as the Scriptures declare, then the source of the world must Himself be good, and that of Himself, since the source of His goodness, truth, righteousness, justice, and holiness must be the same as the source of his being, viz., His own infinite self.

[1] Zwingli, *Werke*, ed. Schuler u. Schulthess, p. 158.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 159. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

We are not, however, to think of the goodness of God as of some passive and inactive quality. His very nature, as the philosophers say, involves His constant activity, since He is the perfect, efficacious, and consummating force. Hence, He speaks and creation comes into existence. It is thus the product of His power; but it is also permeated by His other attributes. His wisdom, knowledge, and providence must so pervade all things that there shall be nothing that is hidden from Him or that fails to obey Him. The proof of this statement Zwingli draws from the general idea of His goodness (*bonum*), which is thus shown to embrace more than merely moral goodness. It is, in fact, a synonym in his mind for perfection, embracing all good, natural as well as moral. The argument might be summarised thus: God is the sum of all excellence; therefore He has this excellence, viz., wisdom.

It may serve to bring out more clearly the force of this argumentation, as well as to give a view of Zwingli's theological style, if we pause here in our analysis for a longer quotation. Says Zwingli[1]:

"This Good is, therefore, no idle or inactive thing, to lie supine and unmoved, neither moving itself nor other things, for, a little above, it was evident that it is the essence and conservation of all things, which is nothing else than that all things are moved, contained, and live through it and in it. It itself is called by the philosophers ἐντελέχεια καὶ ἐνέργεια, *i. e.*, perfect, efficacious, and consummating power, which, since it is

[1] Zwingli, *Werke*, ed. Schuler u. Schulthess, pp. 159 *sq.*

perfect, never shall desist, never cease, never waver, but continually preserve all things, turn them, rule them, that in all things and actions no fault may be able to intervene to impede His power or to defeat His counsel. Which, again, is manifest by His own word. For thus you have it in the beginning of the creation, And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. See how the light when summoned does not only immediately present itself, but, that it may obey the command of its creator, is made of nothing. For so great is His power that when He calls things which are not, they appear, exactly as those things which are, even if they must first be born of nothing. . . . Since, therefore, all things which either move or live, so live and move as they are (for, unless they were, they could not move or live ; but what they are, they are in God and through God) ; it may be thence inferred most clearly that God, as He is the being and the preservation of all things, is also the life and movement of all things which live and move. . . . Nor, again, is He the life and movement of all things in such a way that either He himself should rashly inspire or move them, or that those things which are inspired or moved, should rashly seek of Him that they may live and move. How should they seek this of Him, which could not even be, except they were of Him, or how could they seek before they were? It follows that God is not only, like a kind of material, that from which all things are, by which all things are moved and live ; but he is, at the same time, such wisdom, knowledge, and providence, that nothing is hidden, unknown, remote, and disobedient to it."

To resume the course of our analysis, Zwingli derives all other excellences in God from His supreme

excellence as the highest being. "That only is God which is perfect, that is, absolute,[1] and to which nothing is lacking, to which also all things are present which befit the highest good."[2] Among these attributes are God's foreknowledge and His providence, "upon which topic the whole matter of free-will and merit depends."[3]

Zwingli now advances to the proof of the benevolence and mercy of God by the following course of reasoning:

"Now, it were vain, fruitless, and useless to mortals if this highest Good, God, were wise for Himself alone, as is said, if He were goodness, life, motion, knowledge, providence for Himself alone; for thus He would differ in no respect from mortals, who have this by their own nature, that they sing for themselves, care for their own things, prefer themselves to others. It is necessary, therefore, that this highest Good, which is God, should be by its own nature kind and bountiful, not with that bounty with which we wish ourselves to seem to have given, sometimes considering reward, sometimes glory, but with that by which He wishes to benefit those to whom He has given, and considers this solely and alone, that those things which have been done by Himself may be theirs; for He will be freely drawn upon. For, as He is the fountain of all things (for no one merited,

[1] *Hoc solum deus est quod perfectum est, id est, absolutum et cui nihil desit, cuique omnia adsint quæ summum bonum deceant.* It would be an error to suppose these expressions to have anything in common with modern ideas of the "Absolute" so much favoured in our own country. "Absolute" means to Zwingli, as this context shows, simply "complete," "perfect."

[2] P. 160.

[3] P. 163.

before He was, that he should be generated of Him), so He is perennially bountiful towards those whom He begot to this one end, that they should enjoy His bounty. In a word, this is the respect in which that Good differs from all other things which are called good: these do not expend themselves ἀμισθωτί, that is, gratuitously, since they are squalid and needy; that, on the contrary, neither will nor can be expended except gratuitously. Again, those things which are good in appearance spare themselves, for they can satisfy very few, since they are limited and mean. But that Good so abounds that it surpasses all the desires of all to satiety; for it is infinite and loves to be drawn upon. It cannot itself enjoy other things, for they are inferior to it, and except they enjoy it, from which they are, they cannot exist at all."[1]

This, in outline, is his doctrine of God. Passing now to the doctrine of man,—the other term of the relation which religion was defined to be,—we meet with distinct agreement with Augustine, but still with marked individuality of conception. Man was originally formed in the image of God. He was forbidden to eat of a specified tree. Tempted of the devil through his wife, he consented and ate, and thereby fell, and, in accordance with the threat of the law, he died. So far the narrative is one of plain facts. In what, now, did this "death" consist? It was not a death of the body, for Adam did not die immediately as the law threatened; and yet his ultimate physical death was for no other reason than for his transgression of the law at this time. But he died in some sense as soon as he ate. The death

[1] P. 163.

meant by the threatening of the law must therefore have been a death of the soul, not of the body. What death was it? Zwingli collects the answer from Romans v., 12. The death of the soul suffered at this time was sin.

Hence Zwingli comes next to discuss the topic of sin. Men are led into sin by desire. We have therefore to inquire what desire influenced Adam when he fell. It was the desire to be equal with God and to know good and evil by his own power. Evidently this desire had its origin in self-love. This, then, is the root and characteristic of sin. In this sin there is a corrupting power which infects our whole nature, so that there is a viciosity of nature (*vitium naturæ*).[1] Man has become flesh by the fall. Hence he thinks the things of flesh, and this makes him an enemy of God. "Therefore his mind (*mens*) is bad, and his disposition (*animus*) is bad from the beginning of his life."[2] Zwingli uses language even stronger than this, for he says: "They who have been born of one dead are themselves also dead. The dead Adam could not generate one free from death,"[3] that is, sin, for death is here to be understood of the love of self which is the essence of sin. Zwingli is unique among the three great Reformers for the clearness with which he makes the fundamental distinction between the corruption of our nature and what is properly sin, for he says there are two kinds of sin received in evangelical doctrine: first the disease (*morbus*) which we contract from the author of the race by which we are addicted to self-

[1] P. 168. [2] P. 169. [3] P. 169.

love, and the second that which is done contrary to the law.[1] In the *Ratio Fidei* he repeatedly makes this distinction, and says that the sin derived from Adam is only improperly called sin.[2] Adam was brought into the condition of a slave by sin and we are born in that condition. Hence death hangs over our heads. Thus, while essentially Augustinian, Zwingli shows the free spirit of inquiry which will carry him still farther towards new views in later portions of his system.

The topic of sin also raises the question of the agency of God in its appearance in this world, and therefore involves the theologian at once in the discussion of His providence and of His wisdom and goodness. Zwingli has given us a special treatise upon these subjects, to which it will be worth while to turn for a little.[3] Although written considerably later than the "Commentary," it proceeds to establish the doctrine of providence upon the basis of those principles as to the essential nature of God which have been already drawn out. The title of the first chapter contains its doctrine, that " Providence is necessary because the highest good necessarily cares for and disposes of all things." [4] The course of the argument has been substantially sketched above. The relation of God's providence and wisdom is this, that the wisdom is the power, and the providence the operation of God. It is His " constant and unchangeable government and administration of all things." [5] The entire harmony between God's

[1] III., p. 203.
[2] IV., p. 6 *ff.*
[3] IV., 79–144.
[4] P. 81.
[5] P. 84.

providence and wisdom is therefore a postulate of Zwingli's thinking. So absolute, however, is God's government of all things that Zwingli now proceeds to deny second causes entirely. Nothing material can be of itself: it must derive its being from Him who alone is all being. "There is nothing which is not from Him, in Him, and through Him, yea, He Himself."[1] Any single finite force is "called a created power because the universal or general power is exhibited in a new subject and new form."[2] If finite things truly proceeded from other finite things, then these all must also proceed from still other finite things like themselves, and so *ad infinitum*. Since God can derive the being He gives them from none but Himself, He gives them His own being, and hence they are He. They are because they are in Him who always is and who is the only true being. Thus there is one Cause, and all the rest are no more causes than the ambassador of a sovereign is the sovereign himself.

It might be feared lest this entire identification of the creature with the Creator might lead to its degradation in the scale of being, as having no individuality or importance in itself. Such is, however, not Zwingli's tendency. All things become of the divine species,—not merely man, but even all the creation beneath man, although there remains a distinction in their nobility and gifts. In fact, the idea of God as the essence of all things introduces a new view of spheres of life which Christians were apt to relegate to the realm of unmingled evil. Zwingli

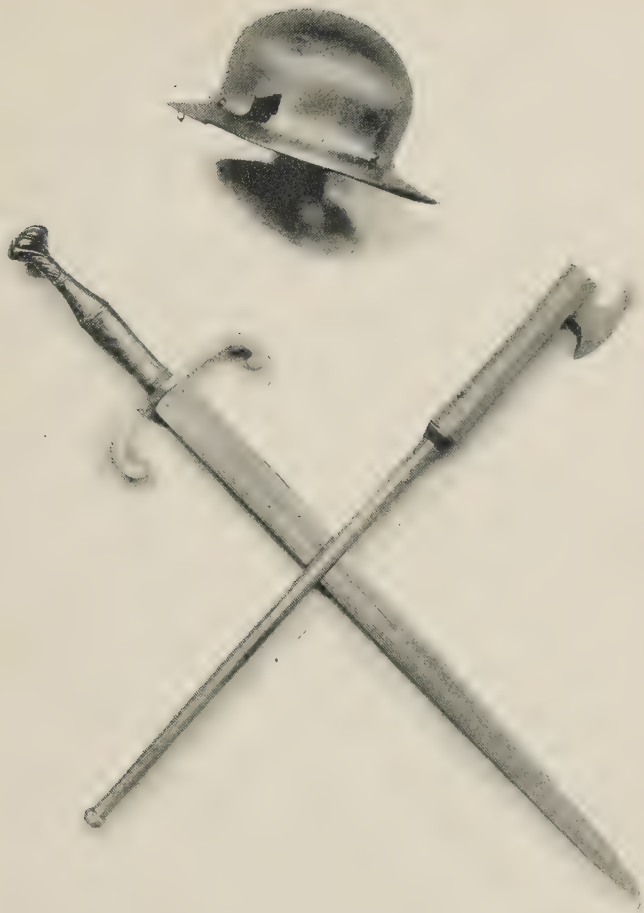
[1] P. 85.

[2] P. 86.

thus attains a breadth of view which was denied to Luther. The heathen who have written holy and wise things are cited to sustain Zwingli's views upon the Deity, and this procedure he defends as right and proper because, whenever a good or holy thing is found in them, it is to be regarded as an emanation from the divine fountain.[1] The conception of the all-permeating activity of God is thus a liberalising element in Zwingli's conception of the world and its worth.

But does not this view of God's causality rob man of all real being and especially of responsibility? Such had been in Zwingli's day, as it has ever since, a common conclusion, and appeal had been made to him to clear up this point. He therefore now proceeds to consider man and the divine law.[2] Man is the most remarkable and wonderful being, since he is both a heavenly being, as possessing a spirit, and an earthly, as clothed in a visible, earthy body. The body which is given to him that he may be a part of the world over which he rules, is nevertheless a source of corruption to him. He is like a stream of pure water befouled with a mass of clay and thrown into the greatest commotion by this disturbing element. Why has God placed man in so unfortunate a position? And why, when he falls into sin, which arises from his connection with the body, does God punish the spirit, although it is the flesh which is the cause inciting to sin?[3] Thus sharply does Zwingli formulate the ever-recurring question as to man's responsibility. His answer is

[1] P. 93. [2] P. 98. [3] P. 101.



ZWINGLI'S HELMET, SWORD, AND SO-CALLED BATTLE-AXE, CARRIED BY HIM TO THE BATTLE FIELD OF CAPPEL, OCT. 11, 1531, NOW IN THE LANDES MUSEUM, ZURICH.

by no means as keen. The soul is punished because it has offended against the law.[1] But why has God given man the law, against which he was sure to offend, when He might have left him to ignorance and innocence ?[2] The answer to this is that the law is the expression of the essence of God. It is light, the expression of the reason and the will of God. It is for us a law; for God it is not law but nature and essence. Thus from the command to love God we learn that *the nature of God is love*.[3] All that He does, therefore, will be according to His nature, though He is above the law under which we are bound. But the flesh does not understand and agree with this law and is led by it necessarily into sin. All this results by the knowledge and will of God, since He is the sole true cause. How, then, can the spirit be punished for what is the operation of God Himself ? Zwingli's sole answer to this question is that it has sinned against the law.[4] This suggests the still sharper formulation of the question, Whether God Himself has not sinned in the sin of men, because their sin is His own operation ? To this there are substantially two answers in Zwingli: one, the formal one, that God has not sinned against the law, because He is above the law and cannot sin against it; and, second, the more substantial one, that, considered as an act of the creature, a certain thing is sin which, considered as the act of God, since it is done for other and greater reasons, is no sin at all. But what " other and greater reason " can there be for the introduc-

[1] P. 102. [2] *Ibid.* [3] P. 104. [4] P. 106.

tion of sin into the world by the act of God? Zwingli's answer here is that sin is as necessary to holiness as some evil is to all good. Without it holiness cannot be known. Hence, God produced sin in the world by means of the creature, whose sin was wrought by God through the instrumentality of the Tempter, for the good of the creature, that is, "that he might come to a knowledge of righteousness." The goodness of God in it all is the more evident in that He provided redemption.[1] This line of reasoning is more consistent than successful.

Zwingli passes by a natural transition to the discussion of election,[2] which he defines as "the free determination of the divine will concerning those who are to be made blessed." It is an act of the free-will of God in distinction from His mere wisdom. In opposition to Thomas Aquinas, Zwingli makes election to be independent of all foreknowledge of our faith. He had once been inclined to this opinion of Aquinas's, but rejected it because it endangers God's goodness and omnipotence, since He must have foreseen Judas's becoming bad, and must then be conceived as unable to hinder it; and also destroys His sole causality, ascribing some reason for His activity to the creature.[3] Yet the other attributes of God, wisdom, love, etc., are not unconcerned in election, though it is primarily a matter of the will. And faith, which is the condition of justification, is the gift of God and follows upon election[4]; so that election, rather than faith, may be said to be the justifying principle. "Faith

[1] P. 108. [2] P. 111. [3] P. 113. [4] P. 121.

follows election as its symbol." With such theories, Zwingli of course denies the freedom of the will, as is evident from innumerable expressions scattered here and there through his works, though there is no special treatise devoted to this theme.

Zwingli's whole discussion of the topic of sin may be sharply criticised as vitiated by arguments which are verbal and not material. To say that what is wrong to man because against law is not to God since He is above law, amounts to but little. But Zwingli did not intend to engage in mere logomachy. Law is viewed, it is true, too mechanically as an outward standard to which man must conform. But he meant, when he said that God must be above law, to ascribe to Him a peculiar and glorious excellence. It is a fine remark when he says, in attempted expression of this thought, that what is law to man is to God His own nature and essence.[1] He illustrates his breadth of view by this distinction. The whole treatment of the subject is an endeavour to state the facts of the case and make them consistent with the theory of God's operation which Zwingli had conceived. The failure lies in the impossibility of making such a theory fit the facts of human action and responsibility. Zwingli was as successful, perhaps, as anyone of his age in solving the difficulties which he had the perfect candour to acknowledge and to present.

Zwingli had defined religion as a relation existing between God and man.[2] Having described the terms between which this relation exists, he now

[1] P. 104.

[2] III., p. 155.

returns to discuss religion itself.[1] Man, having fallen from God, will, if left to himself, never return. God in His great mercy now goes out after man and exhibits him to himself so that he recognises his disobedience, loss, and misery, as Adam did. Thus He produces despair of himself in man's soul. But God also shows him the divine mercy, and this he sees to be so great that he cannot be separated from it. He thus comes to trust God, treats Him as a parent, adheres to Him. Thus is established the relation which is described by the term "religion," which is, therefore, entire dependence upon God. False religion, on the contrary, is trusting in anyone else than God, especially in any creature.

All this is general and true of any religion. The specifically Christian religion gathers about the person of Christ. Hence Zwingli devotes a special paragraph to the definition of Christianity.[2] Christ is the certainty and the pledge of the grace of God. But how is this grace to be bestowed upon men who have wandered from God and will not come to Him, since God is just, and justice demands the punishment of sinners? God needs to exhibit Himself as He is, both just and also merciful and good. To this end His justice must be satisfied. But how is this to be done? Can man do it? He is too sinful to correspond to the spotless law of God. Neither have good works in themselves any merit to satisfy the justice of God. It remains, therefore, that God must provide for such satisfaction, which He has

[1] P. 173. [2] P. 179.

done by sending His Son incarnate to make satisfaction in our behalf. To this end Christ was prophesied; miraculously conceived; and born of the Virgin Mary (to avoid the stain of original sin); suffered all things which were to be inflicted upon us in consequence of sin, such as want, cold, and every other evil; and especially surrendered Himself to death. "For this was justice, that He, through whom we were all created, in whom there was no sin, . . . innocently bore those things which we had merited by sinning, but which He bore in our behalf."[1] Zwingli here places himself distinctly upon the ground common to the Reformers, that the death of Christ was a sacrificial satisfaction of justice in our behalf. The individual words and phrases employed by him are clear in their implications, such as *lito* (to make atonement for), *expiatio* (expiation), *ea ferre quæ nos peccando commeruimus* (to bear those things which we had merited by our sins), *redemptionis pretium* (price of redemption); but there is, further than this, no theoretical development of the doctrine.

In the *Christianæ Fidei Expositio*[2] there is a fuller treatment of this theme in which, in connection with the general style of thought which had been prevalent since the days of Anselm, Zwingli presents the same conceptions of the work of Christ from a slightly different viewpoint. He derives the work of atonement from the goodness of God which must control in every plan and act. Through goodness God clothed His Son in flesh that He might exhibit

[1] P. 189. [2] IV, 42.

to, and provide for, the world redemption and renovation. "Since His goodness, that is, His justice [note this identification], and His mercy are holy, that is, firm and immutable, His justice required expiation, His mercy pardon, His favour new life."[1] Hence this incarnate Son was made a victim that He might placate affronted justice and reconcile it with those who did not dare to approach God's face in their own innocence, since they were conscious of guilt. This was because, though He was merciful, yet virtue could not bear the repudiation of its own work [the law], and justice could not bear impunity. Justice and mercy are, therefore, so mingled that the latter should furnish the victim and the former should accept it for the expiation of all sins.

Such being the central point of the Christian religion distinguished from religion in general, Zwingli is now prepared to define the Gospel, which he does in the words, "that in the name of Christ sins are remitted."[2] The progress of salvation begins in the illumination of God, whereby we come to a knowledge of ourselves. Thereupon we fall into despair. We flee to the mercy of God, but His justice throws us into dismay. Eternal Wisdom finds a way whereby it can itself render satisfaction to its own justice, a thing which is absolutely impossible for us. God sends His Son to make satisfaction for us and become an indubitable security for us. But the fruits of this sacrifice become ours only upon the condition that we become new creatures, put on Christ, and so walk. Consequently

[1] IV., 47. [2] III., 192.

the whole life of the Christian is a constant repentance. Here Zwingli pauses to discuss, in sharp distinction from the compulsory and hypocritical penance of the false Church, the marks of true repentance.[1]

Upon this head and several of the following, our present purpose does not call us to linger. Zwingli maintains, with many a minor peculiarity, the great Protestant doctrines upon the law, sin, the keys, and the Church. The law he reduces to the fundamental command of love to neighbour as its substance and root.[2] The keys are keys to open, like those of a castle, and not to shut, and are the knowledge and ability given to the servants of God to lead others unto salvation.[3] The Church he elsewhere defines more fully as the assembly (*concio, cœtus*), by which he means the local assembly of the Christian people in any city or town.[4] This external Church comprises all those who call themselves Christians, even though they are not truly such. This is not, however, the Church of which mention is made in the Apostles' Creed in the phrase, "I believe in the Catholic Church." The true spouse of Christ, "the Catholic Church," is composed of those who believe in Christ: it is the communion of saints, and is known to God alone. In this distinction between the visible and invisible Church Zwingli entirely agrees with the other Protestant Reformers. He differs, however, somewhat in the place he ascribes to the local Church.[5] This pos-

[1] III., 199. [3] P. 273 *f.*
[2] P. 203. [4] P. 226; *cf.* i., 469. [5] III., 226; *cf.* i., 469.

sesses all the powers which are conferred upon the Church at large. It may exercise the power of excommunication.[1] It also judges its pastors and the Word preached to it; and yet this is done not by the outward Church as such, but by the true spouse of Christ which is embosomed in it, since the judgment is given according to the Word of God in the minds of the faithful. For legislative purposes, Zwingli conceives the local Church of any city as represented in the government of the city—that is, in its board of magistrates. More distinctly individual is the claim which he asserts for the local Church to the attribute of infallibility. He puts this infallibility in the sharpest opposition to the infallibility of the Roman Church.[2] The Roman Church errs because it rests upon its own word: the true spouse of Christ "cannot err" because it "relies upon the word of God alone."[3] The source of this infallibility is the fact that the Church does not propose to set up anything of its own accord, but simply listens to the word of God and accepts what it finds there. Its infallibility is, therefore, the infallibility of the word of God, and Zwingli's doctrine of the infallibility of the local Church is like that of the other Protestant leaders as to the "perspicuity of the Scriptures." The Scriptures are plain in the great outlines of the way of salvation, so that no one who trusts himself to them will fail of eternal life; and the infallibility of the Church is such that when, in the exercise of her God-given authority, she tries to find out God's will in the

[1] III., 135. [2] P. 128; *cf.* i., 468, 470. [3] P. 128.

great matters of salvation, she will be infallibly led into the knowledge of it.

The discussions of the "Commentary," as we have thus followed them, have been of the greatest importance to the establishment of a sound and comprehensive theology, but they have been defective in many respects and have had little in them upon which Zwingli's distinctive fame as a theologian could rest. They were defective, for example, in omitting all formal discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, though there are many passages in which the substance of the doctrine is well expressed.[1] Doubtless Zwingli did not intend to traverse the ground where he agreed substantially with the ancient, and even with the Roman Church. Luther and his friends misunderstood this reticence and thought Zwingli a denier of the unmentioned doctrines, though Melanchthon's silence in the earlier editons of the *Loci* upon the same points, and his expression of some degree of contempt for such studies, might have led to worse conclusions as to his orthodoxy. But we now come into the region in which the great contest between Luther and Zwingli was waged, and in which Zwingli made an advance upon all his contemporaries, — to the doctrine of the Sacraments.

In this discussion the "Commentary" was the first production of Zwingli's by which he was willing to stand. He expressly says that his previous treatment of the theme in the Sixty-seven Articles was written for the times rather than to declare the whole

[1] *E. g.*, iii., 251.

truth, " that he might not cast pearls before swine." [1] The "Commentary" represents his matured views, and although he wrote much afterwards in his controversy with Luther, the history of which has already been elsewhere detailed,[2] he added nothing and modified nothing of any importance to the understanding of his theological system.

He begins by mentioning three views,[3] all of which he rejects, viz.: (1) That the sacrament is something which by its own power liberates the conscience from sin [the magical theory of the sacraments]; (2) that it is a sign upon the performance of which the thing signified is internally performed; (3) that it is a sign given for the purpose of rendering him who receives it certain that that which is signified by the sacrament has already been performed. In opposition to these he defines his own view. It is that the sacrament is a dedication and a consecration (*initio et oppignoratio*) and a public setting of the person apart (*publica consignatio*). " Having been initiated, a man must do that which the function, order, or institute with which he has connected himself demands." [4] It follows at once from this conception that the sacrament has no power to liberate the conscience. God alone can cleanse the soul. The first of the above theories is thus disposed of. As for the second, if the cleansing be performed, the subject is conscious of it, for it is done by the inward act of faith; and faith must be conscious. Zwingli's great purpose

[1] III., 239 *sq.*
[2] See Chapter XIV and Index.
[3] III., 228.
[4] P. 229.

in opposing Luther's doctrine as well as that of Rome comes here into view. It was to rescue the true character of faith. In reply to the third he says, that for the same reason one does not need a pledge that the cleansing has already been performed. If it has, he knows it, and that is enough. The great gift of God is thus; in Zwingli's mind, a matter of experience. He sometimes makes it identical with faith, this being, upon one side, a conscious act, and upon the other, the sum and substance of the life into which the Christian is ushered through forgiveness. He lives a life of faith—that is, faith may designate his highest experiences. And this faith, he says over and over again, is a fact, an experience, not a mere matter of intellectual knowledge and imagination, or a mere opinion. It is trust in Christ, a new direction of the purposes and affections of the man, a wholly internal operation of the soul itself; and it is therefore produced not by external means, which can produce only external changes, but by the Holy Spirit. Neither is the Holy Spirit bound to external means or limited by them. The object of faith, likewise, is always Christ or God as revealed in Christ, and it can therefore have no material thing, like the body of Christ, or the nature of the elements in the sacrament of the altar, for its proper object. Whether the elements of the sacrament are bread and wine or the real body and blood of the Lord is a question for the determination of the mind by means of sensation and perception, not for faith, which has nothing to do with such objects. When the theologians of the Roman Church

say, "We *believe* that we *perceive* the real body and blood of the Lord at the altar," they utterly confound faith with what is totally different. Zwingli also objects to Luther's view as obscuring the nature of faith and as confounding its object.[1]

This effort of Zwingli in behalf of a consistent definition of faith may well be counted as among his most important contributions to the cause of evangelical truth. That faith is a spiritual process, produced by spiritual means, is a far-reaching principle of the utmost importance. Much as Protestant theology has insisted upon faith, it has long been obscure in defining it. Could Zwingli's fundamental ideas have been fully received, that faith is an act of self-committal, that it is a spiritual process of the soul, that it is conscious, and that it is the eternal life which Christ promised, already in exercise and possession, then long and gloomy chapters in the history of Reformed Theology, in which the story of spiritual paralysis in consequence of ignorance of the way of salvation and positive misrepresentation of the gift of divine forgiveness, might have been spared the world. Even the theologian, evangelist, and saint, Jonathan Edwards, could say to an inquirer:

"You must not think much of your pains, and of the length of time; you must press towards the kingdom of God, and do your utmost, and hold out to the end; and learn to make no account of it when you have done. You must undertake the business of seeking sal-

[1] III., 248.

vation upon these terms and with no other expectation than this, that *if ever God bestows* mercy, it will be in His own time, and not only so, but also, when you have done all, *God will not hold Himself obliged* to show you mercy at last."[1]

But Zwingli would never have written such a travesty of the Gospel, and Zwingli's clearness and breadth would have spared generations of Calvinists, before Edwards and after him, from the necessity of consequent darkness and pain.

In accordance with this general view of the sacraments Zwingli defines the first sacrament which he discusses, which is baptism,[2] matrimony being excluded from the number of true sacraments. Baptism is not a sacrament which conveys the grace which it signifies. To John the Baptist it was an essential part of his teaching. It said as by a visible word that, as one bathed comes forth from the bath cleansed, so they that are baptised ought to put off the old life of sin and begin a new life. It also pledged them to this. Such baptism is to be distinguished from the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which is of two sorts: an inward baptism, which is equivalent to the creation of true faith, and an outward, such as that through which the Apostles spoke with tongues. In our day, not all receive the latter baptism, but all who are truly religious have become so through the illumination and drawing of the Holy Spirit. There is, however, no distinction between the baptism of John and that of Christ. Christ did

[1] *Works*, Dwight edition, v., 467.

[2] P. 232.

not demand a new baptism of His disciples when they had once been baptised by John, nor is the purpose of the two baptisms different. Both preached repentance, and both baptised with the same purpose. Christian baptism is baptism into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they who formerly served the Devil now consecrate themselves to the Father, Son, and Spirit.[1]

In the special treatise upon "Baptism, Re-Baptism, and Infant Baptism"[2] the same general views reappear. Baptism is a sign that obligates the one baptised to the Lord Jesus, but salvation is not dependent upon it. It cannot wash away sins. It is not necessary to rebaptise those who were baptised in the Roman Church, because infant baptism is itself valid and because we may be reasonably certain of our baptism, since there are numerous witnesses of it. And then baptism is essentially a single act, not to be repeated. The validity of infant baptism rests upon the analogy of circumcision, and is equally proper with that as a sign to hold children to their duty to God. Infant baptism probably began in the time of Christ, for there is nothing against it in the New Testament, and much that may be cited for it. Indeed, the children of Christians, as standing under the covenant of God

[1] In his *De Providentia Dei* (iv., 125), Zwingli says: "Since all the elect were elected before the establishment of the world, and the infants of the faithful are of the Church, there is no doubt that when these infants die they are received into the number of the blessed according to election, which the Apostle says remains sure."

[2] German, of the year 1525, *Werke*, ii., 1. 230 *sqq*.

with His people, and as the children of God, ought to be baptised.

In regard to the Lord's Supper, Zwingli defines it, with special reference to the Greek word *eucharist*, as a thanksgiving, a festival of thanksgiving among those who proclaim the death of Christ. It involves also the element of self-consecration, and is an act more for the community of Christians before whom the communicant professes thus his faith in Christ than for the communicant himself. Hence Zwingli came to the view that its nature is that of a symbol, and he adopted the tropical interpretation of the word "is" in the words of institution, "This is my body," paraphrasing it, "This represents my body," thus sweeping away at once the whole theory of what has been called consubstantiation, as well as transubstantiation.[1]

The following year after the appearance of the "Commentary," Luther began the series of controversial writings which were interchanged between himself and Zwingli, and from that time until the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 the pen of neither of them had very long repose. Zwingli developed his views with great acuteness and dialectic skill, but he added little to their substance. The Colloquy brought him neither instruction nor change. It was more evident there, however, what was the fundamental question at issue, and this was, in a word, the spirituality of religion. Zwingli, in accordance with the natural consequences of the emphasis which he laid upon the sole causality of God, maintained the freedom

[1] III., 253.

of the Spirit of God in his converting operations, and exhibited a surprising breadth of view, embracing within the gracious operations of God even noted cases of moral excellence among the heathen, like Socrates.[1] Luther, influenced excessively by the historical tendencies of the Roman Church, was inclined to emphasise the necessity of the means, and to restrict the operations of the Spirit to those to whom the Word was preached and the sacraments administered. To him the Gospel appeared to be evacuated of its power and rendered superfluous if such men as Socrates, who had never received it, could nevertheless be saved. With all his large-heartedness, Luther was seriously limited in his horizon. In Zwingli there appeared the tendency which has been characteristic of the Reformed Theology ever since—the tendency to ascribe perfect reasonableness to the doctrines of the Gospel and to interpret the Scriptures largely upon the supposition that they must be reasonable, while yet yielding to them the cordial assent of simple faith in regions where evidently they speak above human comprehension.

Discussions upon the sacrament, inasmuch as they had to do with the human Christ, naturally led, both in Luther's and in Zwingli's case, to further consideration of the subject of Christology. With Luther, this developed in the period before Marburg into discussions of the eternal pre-existence of Christ's body, and into the doctrine of the "Communication of Properties" (*communicatio idiomatum*),

[1] IV., 65.

whereby each nature was supposed to communicate to the other its peculiar properties, while at the same time it did not itself cease to be what it was. Luther subsequently developed this doctrine still farther and involved himself in difficulties both conscious and unconscious. Zwingli remained rather upon the ground of the simple doctrine of Chalcedon: that there are two natures, human and divine, each perfect and entire, that they are not confounded, and that each remains what it is according to its own character. His phraseology shows in many places a tendency to that balancing of the two natures over against one another which is characteristic of the creed of Chalcedon.[1] He sought to explain the phenomena of the Scriptures upon which Luther had based his communication of properties by means of the ἀλλοίωσις, or transference. This takes place when "one names one of the two natures and understands the other; or names that which they both are and understands nevertheless only one of the two."[2] This is enough, he thinks, to explain the whole of the matter. With him, as with the ancient theologians, the divine Logos is the personalising principle of the Christ. But into further efforts to clear up the mystery of the nature of Christ, he does not go. His strength in this direction seems to be consumed by the many efforts he makes to exhibit the inconsistencies and absurdities of Luther's ideas and to win him to a simpler theory of the Eucharist.

With this theme is naturally connected the doc-

[1] IV., 181; ii., 2, 67. [2] II., 68.

trine of the work of Christ, upon which Zwingli often lets fall incidental remarks in passing and which he treats more at length in the *Fidei Christianæ Expositio.*[1] In these scattering remarks the various points which needed emphasizing against the papal corruptions of the day are brought out fully and cogently. The fact that the death of Christ is the only meritorious cause of our salvation against the doctrine of good works, His sole mediatorship between God and man, His death as the great exhibition of God's love towards men, the redemption of men from death and the devil, the perfect revelation through Him of the will of God, are thus incidentally developed.

Zwingli's theology, as thus sketched by him, is in substantial agreement with that of the other Reformers both Lutheran and Calvinistic. It subsequently admitted without difficulty the practical union of the German with the French Swiss in doctrine and practice. At Marburg he was able without difficulty to subscribe a statement of doctrine drawn up by Luther, with whom his only great difference was that upon the nature of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He was, however, decidedly marked by the freer and broader spirit of the humanistic circles. Luther was a man of greater heart, of a profounder emotional nature, and of a more vivid experience of the great life forces of Christianity. He seized upon the truth by intuition and defended it with stormy and violent eagerness. He was but to a small degree capable

[1] IV., 47 *sq.*

of putting himself in the place of an antagonist, estimating him correctly, and meeting him successfully. He often refused to read his adversaries' writings. Zwingli was clearer, keener, calmer, informed himself accurately upon the subjects which he would discuss, and debated them with more comprehensiveness. Above all, he was broader in his view of things in general, as he was to a larger degree a man of affairs. He could ascribe merit to those with whom he disagreed, and could embrace even the pagan world in his scheme of the universe. Luther denied the freedom of the will to emphasise the certainty of salvation from God. Zwingli denied it to emphasise God's causality. Luther thus looked upon man as so sinful in his enslaved condition that there was no hope for him aside from the established means of grace. Zwingli saw the operation of God in all the world and hoped for the operation of grace beyond the bounds of the Church. This freer spirit Zwingli handed down to the Reformed theology; and though it was often eclipsed by other elements, it has not been without its continuous influence to the present day.

Zwingli's ethics received no systematic development at his hand with the single exception of the treatise written in 1523 upon the "Education of Noble Youths," [1] and here only in connection with the general subject of education. The whole theme is discussed from a Christian standpoint, the object of the education which Zwingli describes being to develop the highest type of Christian manhood.

[1] IV., 148 *sqq.* See this volume, pp. 211, *sq.*

Education begins, therefore, in the knowledge of God, whose nature as manifested in creation and providence is to be taught the youth. The effort is here to be made to lead the young man from a knowledge of his sins to the knowledge of the Redeemer and to the living and personal apprehension of the way of salvation. Upon the basis of such a religious change in the soul, the teacher is to seek to form a blameless life. To this end he is to inculcate constant acquaintance with the Word of God. To this, the knowledge of languages is necessary, and here Zwingli warns against temptations to use superior knowledge as a means of gratifying wantonness, ambition, love of power, deceitfulness, vain philosophy, etc. On the contrary, the youth must be instructed in the duty of modesty and reticence in discourse, propriety and conformity to usage in the choice of words, in gesture, and delivery; in temperance and simplicity in the reception of food and drink and in clothing and personal adornment ; in chastity and self-control in his relations with the female sex. He is especially to be warned against the desire of money and fame, and is to be taught to imitate Christ in all these things. He may learn fencing, but only so far as is necessary to the defence of the fatherland. Especially is idleness to be avoided, and no one is to be received into the citizenship of the state who has not a trade by which he can earn his own living. The law of love to our neighbour is to be impressed and enforced. It demands a true, inner sympathy and participation in the lot of others, whether joy or

sorrow. This leads to a discussion of social relations with our fellow men; and while festivals and parties are not forbidden, they are to be enjoyed with moderation. Obedience to parents is to be insisted upon. Self-control, as of the temper, is to be sought. Games may be played, but not those which furnish no exercise for the mind, like dice and cards. In all things should genuineness and love control the conduct towards one's fellow men. "It is the work of a Christian not to be able to utter great things upon the dogmas, but to render great and weighty services, by the help of God."[1]

In this brief outline we get the general conception of a Christian life which Zwingli had. Without asceticism or undue severity, it was to be a sober, God-fearing, earnest, and useful life.

[1] IV., 158.

APPENDIX

CONCERNING CHOICE AND LIBERTY RESPECTING FOOD—CONCERNING OFFENCE AND VEXATION — WHETHER ANYONE HAS POWER TO FORBID FOODS AT CERTAIN TIMES—OPINION OF HULDREICH ZWINGLI, SET FORTH FROM THE PULPIT AT ZURICH, IN THE YEAR 1522.[1]

To all pious Christians at Zurich, I, Huldrych Zwingli, a simple herald of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, wish the grace, mercy and peace of God.

DEARLY Beloved in God, after you have heard so eagerly the Gospel and the teachings of the holy Apostles now for the fourth year, teachings which Almighty God has been merciful enough to publish to you through my weak efforts, the majority of you, thank God, have been greatly fired with the love of God and of your neighbour. You have also begun faithfully to embrace and to take unto yourselves the teachings of the Gospel and the liberty which they give, so that after you have tried and tasted the sweetness of the heavenly

[1] *Werke*, ed. Schuler und Schulthess, I. 1–29. (From the German by Lawrence A. McLouth, Professor of German, New York University. The first published defence of Zwingli's reformatory ideas. The quotations are in general conformed to the Authorised Version, which more closely represents the text Zwingli used than the text underlying the Revised Version.

ZWINGLI'S MEMORIAL ON THE SITE OF HIS DEATH IN THE BATTLE OF CAPPEL, OCT. 11, 1531.

bread by which man lives, no other food has since been able to please you. And, as when the children of Israel were led out of Egypt, at first impatient and unaccustomed to the hard journey, they sometimes in vexation wished themselves back in Egypt, with the food left there, such as garlic, onions, leeks and flesh-pots, they still entirely forgot such complaints when they had come into the promised land and had tasted its luscious fruits: thus also some among us leapt and jumped unseemly at the first spurring — as still some do now, who like a horse neither are able nor ought to rid themselves of the spur of the Gospel ;— still, in time they have become so tractable and so accustomed to the salt and good fruit of the Gospel, which they find abundantly in it, that they not only avoid the former darkness, labour, food and yoke of Egypt, but also are vexed with all brothers, that is, Christians, wherever they do not venture to make free use of Christian liberty. And in order to show this, some have issued German poems, some have entered into friendly talks and discussions in public rooms and at gatherings ; some now at last during this fast— and it was their opinion that no one else could be offended by it — at home, and when they were together, have eaten meat, eggs, cheese, and other food hitherto unused in fasts. But this opinion of theirs was wrong ; for some were offended, and that, too, from simple good intentions ; and others, not from love of God or of His commands (as far as I can judge), but that they might reject that which teaches and warns common men, and they that might not agree with their opinions, acted as though they were injured and offended, in order that they might increase the discord. The third part of the hypocrites of a false spirit did the same, and secretly excited the civil authorities, saying that such things

neither should nor would be allowed, that it would destroy the fasts, just as though they never could fast, if the poor labourer, at this time of spring, having to bear most heavily the burden and heat of the day, ate such food for the support of his body and on account of his work. Indeed, all these have so troubled the matter and made it worse, that the honourable Council of our city was obliged to attend to the matter. And when the previously mentioned evangelically instructed people found that they were likely to be punished, it was their purpose to protect themselves by means of the Scriptures, which, however, not one of the Council had been wise enough to understand, so that he could accept or reject them. What should I do, as one to whom the care of souls and the Gospel have been entrusted, except search the Scriptures, particularly again, and bring them as a light into this darkness of error, so that no one, from ignorance or lack of recognition, injuring or attacking another come into great regret, especially since those who eat are not triflers or clowns, but honest folk and of good conscience? Wherefore, it would stand very evil with me, that I, as a careless shepherd and one only for the sake of selfish gain, should treat the sheep entrusted to my care, so that I did not strengthen the weak and protect the strong. I have therefore made a sermon about the choice or difference of food, in which sermon nothing but the Holy Gospels and the teachings of the Apostles have been used, which greatly delighted the majority and emancipated them. But those, whose mind and conscience is defiled, as Paul says [Titus, i., 15], it only made mad. But since I have used only the above-mentioned Scriptures, and since those people cry out none the less unfairly, so loud that their cries are heard elsewhere, and since they that hear are vexed on account of their

simplicity and ignorance of the matter, it seems to me to be necessary to explain the thing from the Scriptures, so that everyone depending on the Divine Scriptures may maintain himself against the enemies of the Scriptures. Wherefore, read and understand ; open the eyes and the ears of the heart, and hear and see what the Spirit of God says to us.

Firstly, Christ says, Matthew, xv., 17, what goes in at the mouth defileth not the man, etc. From these words anyone can see that no food can defile a man, providing it is taken in moderation and thankfulness. That this is the meaning, is showed by the fact that the Pharisees became vexed and angry at the word as it stands, because according to Jewish law they took great account of the choice of food and abstinence, all of which regulations Christ desired to do away with in the New Testament. These words of Christ, Mark speaks still more clearly, vii., 15 : "There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him ; but the things which come out from him, those are they that defile the man." So the meaning of Christ is, all foods are alike as far as defilement goes : they cannot defile at all.

Secondly, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, x., 10, when Peter was in Joppa (now called Japhet), he went one day upon the housetop at the sixth hour, and desired to pray. He became hungry and wished to eat ; and when the servants were making ready, he fell into a trance and saw heaven opened and a vessel descending as it were a great linen cloth held together by the four corners and let down upon earth, in which cloth were all four-footed animals, wild beasts, and creeping and flying creatures. Then a voice spoke to him, saying : "Arise, Peter, kill and eat." But Peter said, "No, Lord, for I have never eaten forbidden or unclean food." Then

again the voice spoke to him, saying: "What God has purified, shalt thou not consider forbidden or unclean." Now, God has made all things clean, and has not forbidden us to eat, as His very next words prove. Why do we burden ourselves wilfully with fasts? Here answer might be made: This miracle, shown to Peter, meant that he should not avoid the heathen, but them also should he call to the grace of the Gospel, and therefore material food should not be understood here. Answer: All miracles that God has performed, although symbolical in meaning, were still real occurrences and events. As when Moses struck the rock with his staff and it gave forth water, it was symbolical of the true Rock of Christ, from which flowed, and ever shall flow for us all, the forgiveness of sins and the blessings of heavenly gifts, but none the less was the rock really smitten and gave forth water. And so here, although this miracle was symbolical, still the words of God's voice are clear: What God hath cleansed, shalt thou not consider unclean. Until I forget these words I shall use them.

Thirdly, Paul writes to the Corinthians, (I., vi., 12): "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meats for the belly and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them." That is, to me are all things free, although some things are rather to be avoided, in case they offend my neighbour too much. (About the troubling of one's neighbour, I shall speak specially later on.) And therefore no one can take from me my freedom and bring me under his authority. Food is taken into the belly to sustain life. As now the belly and the food are both to be destroyed, it makes no difference what one eats or wherewith one nourishes his mortal body.

Fourthly, Paul says, I. Corinthians, viii., 8: "But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, are we the better; nor, if we eat not, are we the worse." This word Paul speaks of the food which was offered to the idols, not now of daily food. Notice this, however, to a clearer understanding. At the time when Paul wrote the epistle, there were still many unbelievers, more indeed, it seems to me, than Christians. These unbelievers offered to their idols, according to custom, animals, such as calves, sheep and also other forms of food; but at these same offerings, a great part, often all, was given to eat to those that made the offerings. And as unbelievers and Christians lived together, the Christians were often invited to partake of food or meat, that had been sacrificed to the honor of the idols. Then some of the Christians were of the opinion, that it was not proper to eat this food; but others thought that, if they ate the food of the idols, but did not believe in them, such food could not harm them, and thought themselves stronger in their belief, because they had been free to do this thing, than those who from faint-heartedness and hesitation did not venture to eat all kinds of food. To settle this difference, Paul uses the above words: "No kind of food commends us to God." Even if one eats the food of the idols, he is not less worthy before God, nor yet more worthy, than one who does not eat it; and whoever does not eat it is no better. Indeed that will seem very strange to you, not only that meat is not forbidden, but also that even what has been offered to idols a Christian may eat.

Fifthly, Paul says in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, x., 25: "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience sake." These words are clear and need no explanation, except that

they are among other words about the offence caused by the food of idols. But do not let yourself err. From the pulpit I shall speak sufficiently of giving offence, and perhaps more clearly than you have ever heard.

Sixthly, Paul also says, Colossians, ii., 16: "No man shall judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day." Again you hear that you are to judge no man either as good or bad from his food or drink; he may eat what he please. If one will, let him eat refuse. Here it should be always understood that we are speaking not of amount but of kind. As far as kind and character of food are concerned, we may eat all foods to satisfy the needs of life, but not with immoderation or greediness.

Seventhly, Paul says again, I. Timothy, iv., 1: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and of prayer." These are all the words of Paul. And what could be more clearly said? He says that God's Spirit spoke this as a warning, that they might withstand this, who had no fixed strong belief, and who did not put trust in God, but in their own works which they themselves chose as good. And that such things are placed in them by seducing spirits and devils, that inspire men with hypocrisy, that is, with the outward form, lead men away from trust in God to confidence in themselves. And yet the same

will always surely realise in themselves, that they act dishonourably toward God, and they always feel the pain of it, and know their disgraceful unfaithfulness in that they see only their own advantage or desire and greed of heart. Still they are willing to sell themselves, as though they did it not for their own sakes, but for God's. That is having a conscience branded on the cheek. Then he recounts what they will forbid to do as bad: They shall not enter into marriage or wed. Know too that purity so disgracefully preserved had its original prohibition from the devil, which prohibition has brought more sin into the world than the abstinence from any food. But this is not the place to speak of that. Likewise it is forbidden that one should eat this or that food, which God created for the good and sustenance of men. Look, what does Paul say? Those that take from Christians such freedom by their prohibition are inspired by the devil. "Would I do that?" said the wolf, as the raven sat on the sow's body. Now God placed all things under man at the head of creation, that man might serve Him alone. And although certain foods are forbidden in the Old Testament, they are on the contrary made free in the New, as the words of Mark, vii., 15, clearly show, quoted in the first article above, as also Luke, xvi., 15. "For that which is highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God." The law and the prophets were only a symbol, or have lasted only to John. Hear now, that which seemed great to men was detested by God (the word is *abominatio*), and as far as the law is ceremonial and to be used at court, it has been superseded. Hear then that whatever a man eats cannot make him evil, if it is eaten in thankfulness. Notice that proper thankfulness consists in this, that a man firmly believe that all our food and living are

determined and continued by God alone, and that a man be grateful for it ; for we are more worthy in the sight of God than the fowls of the air which He feeds : us then without doubt He will feed. But the greatest thanks is a conscientious recognition that all our necessities are provided by Him. Of these words nothing further.

Eighthly, after Paul shows Titus (i., 10) that there are many disobedient, many vain talkers and deceivers, which one must overcome, he adds : " Unto the pure all things are pure : but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure ; but even their mind and conscience is defiled." Here you see again he did not desire Jewish wiles heeded ; this is plainly shown by the words next preceding, where he says : " Wherefore rebuke and punish them sharply (of course, with words), that they may be sound in the faith, not listening to Jewish fables and human commandments, that pervert the truth." But they desired to draw the new Christians into abstinence from food, pretending that some food was unclean and improper to eat ; but Paul showed that they were wrong, and said : To those of a pure belief, all things are pure, but to the unbelievers nothing is pure. Cause : their hearts and consciences are defiled. They are unbelievers that think the salvation, mercy and freedom of Christ are not so great and broad as they really are, as Christ chid His disciples, saying that they were of little faith, Matthew, xvi., 8, and vi., 30. In these passages we are certainly taught that we are not only fed each day by Him, but also controlled and instructed with fatherly fidelity, if we console ourselves confidently alone in His word and commands. Wherefore every Christian should depend alone upon Him and believe His words steadfastly. Now, if you do that, then you will not believe that any food can defile a man ; and if you surely believe it, then

it is surely so, for His words cannot deceive. Accordingly all things are pure to you. Why? You believe, therefore all things are pure to you. The unbeliever is impure. Why? He has a doubting heart, which either does not believe the greatness and freedom of God's mercy or does not believe these to be as great as they are. Therefore he doubts, and as soon as he doubts, he sins, according to Romans, xiv., 23.

Ninthly, Paul says to the Hebrews, xiii., 9: "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines. For it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein." In these words see first that we should not be carried about with many kinds of doctrines, also that without doubt or suspicion the Holy Gospel is a certain doctrine, with which we can console ourselves and on which we can surely depend. Accordingly it is best to establish the heart with grace. Now the Gospel is nothing but the good news of the grace of God; on this we should rest our hearts, that is, we should know the grace of the Gospel to be so certain and ready, and trust it, so that we may establish our hearts in any other doctrine, and not trust to food, that is, to eating or abstaining from eating (so also Chrysostom takes these words) this or that food; for that such oversight and choice of food was not of profit to those that have clung thereto is clear enough.

These announcements seem to me to be enough to prove that it is proper for a Christian to eat all foods. But a heathen argument I must bring forward for those that are better read in Aristotle than in the Gospels or in Paul. Tell me which you think more necessary to a man, food or money? I think you will say that food is more useful than money, otherwise we should die of

hunger with our money, as Midas died, who, according to the poets, desired that everything he touched be turned to gold. And so food is more important to preserve life than money; for man lived on food before money was invented. Now Aristotle says that money is indifferent, that is, it is neither good nor bad in itself, but becomes good or bad according to its use, whether one uses it in a good or bad way. Much more then is food neither good nor bad in itself (which I however for the present omit), but it is necessary and therefore more truly good. And it can never become bad, except as it is used immoderately; for a certain time does not make it bad, but rather the abuse of men, when they use it without moderation and belief.

No Christian can deny these arguments, unless he defends himself by denying the Scriptures: He is then, however, no Christian, because he does not believe Christian doctrine. There are nevertheless some who take exception to this, either to the times, or the fasting, or human prohibitions, or giving offence: All these I will answer from the Scriptures later with God's help.

At first then they object to the time: Although all things are pure, still they are not so at all times; and so during the fasts, quarter fasts, Rogation-day week, Shrove-Tuesday, Friday and Saturday, it is improper to eat meet. During fasts also eggs, milk and milk products are not proper. Answer: I do not say that these are not forbidden by men; we see and hear that daily. But all of my efforts are directed against this assumption, that we are restrained at this and that time by divine law. Let each one fast as often as the spirit of true belief urges him. But in order to see that according to the law of Christ we are free at all times, consider as follows:

First, Mark, ii., 23, once when Christ was going through the cornfields, His disciples began to pluck the ears (and eat). But the Pharisees said to Him: "Lo, what are thy disciples doing that is not proper on the Sabbath day?" And Christ said to them: "Have ye not read what David did when he had need, when he and they with him were hungry; how in the days of Abiathar, the high priest, he went into the house of God and ate the bread that was offered to God, which it was improper for anyone to eat but the priests, and gave also to those with him, saying to them, the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath? Therefore the Son of man is also Lord of the Sabbath." Notice here that need is superior not only to human but also to divine law; for observing the Sabbath is divine law. And still the hunger of the disciples did not observe the Sabbath. Notice again that no place withstands need, and that David in need might go into the temple. Notice also that the matter of persons is not respected in need; for David and his followers were not priests, but ate the food proper only for priests to eat. This I show you now that you may learn that what is said of one circumstance is said in common of all circumstances in the Scriptures, if anything depends on circumstances or is deduced from circumstances. Circumstances are where, when, how, the person, or about whom. Thus Christ says, Matthew, xxiv., 23: "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not." See, this is the circumstance where, or the place. The meaning is that God is not revealed more in one place than in another. Indeed, when the false prophets say that, one is not to believe them. In this way you should understand the circumstance of time, and other circumstances, that not more at one time than at another God

is revealed as merciful or as wroth, but at all times alike. Else He would be subject to the times which we had chosen, and He would be changeable who suffers no change. So also of the matter of persons; for God is not more ready or open in mercy and grace to a person of gentle birth than to the base born, as the holy Paul says, Acts, x., 34: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons." But we do not need this proof here, where we wish to prove that all time is free to men. For the words of Christ are of themselves clear enough, when He says: the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath; the Sabbath is in the power of man, not man in the power of the Sabbath. In a word, the Sabbath and all time are subject to man, not man to the Sabbath. Now if it is true that the Sabbath which God established is to be subject to us, then much more the time which men have imposed upon us. Indeed, not only the time but also the persons, that have thus fixed and established these particular times, are none other than the servants of Christ and co-workers in the secret things of God, not revealed to men. And these same co-workers should not rule Christians, commanding as over-lords, but should be ready only for their service and for their good. Therefore Paul says, I. Cor., vii., 35: "I say this for your good, not that I would put a noose about your necks, that is, I would not seize and compel you with a command." Again he speaks, I. Cor., iii., 21: "All things are your's; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Peter, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are your's." Here you see that all things are intended for men or for the service of men, not for their oppression, yes, the Apostles themselves are for men, not men for the Apostles. O overflowing spring of God's mercy!

how well Paul speaks when he says, that these things are known but through the Spirit of God. Therefore we have not received the spirit of this world, but the spirit that is from God, because we see what great things are given us by God. You know your liberty too little. Cause: the false prophets have not told you, preferring to lead you about rather as a pig tied with a string; and we poor sinners cannot be led to the love of God any other way but by being taught to summon unto ourselves the Spirit of God, so that we may know the great things which God has given us. For who could but be thankful to God, so kind, and who could but be drawn into a wonderful love of Him? Here notice too that it is not the intention of Christ, that man should not keep the Sabbath (for us Christians Sunday is ordained as the Sabbath) but where our use or need requires something else, the Sabbath itself, not only other times, shall be subject to us. Here you are not to understand either the extreme necessity, in which one would be near death, as the mistaken theologists dream, but ordinary daily necessity. For the disciples of Christ were not suffering extreme necessity, when on the Sabbath day they plucked the ears, else they would not have answered Christ as they did, when He asked them, Luke, xxii., 35: "When I sent you without purse and scrip, lacked ye anything?" For the disciples answered: "Nothing." From this we understand that Christ never allowed His disciples to fall into such dire extremity, but that the need, which they felt on Sunday, was nothing but ordinary hunger, as also the word "need" as we use it does not mean the last stages of necessity, but has the usual meaning; as when one says, "I have need," he does not refer to the last or greatest want, but to a sufficiency of that which daily need demands. Then as

far as time is concerned, the need and use of all food are free, so that whatever food our daily necessity requires, we may use at all times and on all days, for time shall be subject to us.

Secondly, Christ says, Luke, xvii., 20 : "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation : neither shall they say, Lo ! here, lo ! there." This word observation, Latin *observatio*, has this meaning, as if one carefully watched over something that had its time and moment, and if one did not take it then, it would pass away, as fishermen and fowlers usually watch, because fish and fowl have certain times and are not always to be caught. Not thus the kingdom of God, for it will not come with observation of time or place. Since now the mistaken theologists say that we ourselves deserve the kingdom of God with our works, which we choose of our own free will and complete according to our powers, the words of Christ, who cannot lie, answer: if the kingdom of God cometh not with observation or watching (of time, or place, or of all circumstances, as is proved in the above paragraph) and if at any time the prohibiting of the food which God has left free is nothing else but observation, then the kingdom of God will never be made ready by the prohibition of food. Now it must be that abstinence cannot avail anything as to time, and you are always to understand that it is not our intention to speak here of amount, but only of kind, neither of the times which God hath set, but of those which men have established.

Thirdly, Paul writes to the Galatians, iv., 9: "But now after ye have known God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye deserve to be again in bondage? You have expectation, or you keep day and month, time and year." Here you hear the anger of Paul at the Galatians, because after they

had learned and known God (which is nothing else but being known or enlightened of God), they still returned to the elements, which he more closely describes in Colossians, ii., 20. But since we must use these words later more accurately and must explain them, we shall now pass them over, satisfying ourselves with knowing what the weak elements are. In Latin and Greek the letters were called elements, for the reason that, as all things are made up and composed of elements, so also each word was made of letters. Now the Jews and heathen have always clung closely to the letter of the law, which oppresses much, indeed kills, as Paul says. Not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, it oppresses much. Is that not a severe word which is found in Matthew, v., 22? "But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment." So it is, if taken literally, indeed impossible for us weak mortals to keep. And therefore Christ has given it to us that we might recognise our shortcomings therein, and then take refuge alone in Him, who mercifully pitied our shortcomings when He said, Matthew xi., 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

But whoever does not know and will not know this narrow way to the mercy of God through Christ, undertakes with his own powers to fulfil the law, sees only the letter of the law and desires with his might to fulfil that, prescribing for himself this and that chastisement and abstinence at certain times, places, and under other circumstances, and after all that he still does not fulfil the law, but the more he prides himself on having fulfilled the law, the less he has fulfilled it, for in his industry he becomes puffed up in himself. As the Pharisee, that boasted of the elements, that is, of the works which

he had literally fulfilled, said, "I thank thee, O God, that I am not as other men are; I fast, etc." Consider the over-wise piety that exalts itself at once above other men, from no other reason than that according to his advice or opinion, and powers, he is confident to have fulfilled the law; and, on the other hand, consider the publican hoping for nothing but the rich mercy of God, and counting his own works nothing, but only saying: "O God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" Is not, then, the publican considered more righteous before God than the Pharisee? From all this you see that the weak elements are nothing else than human wisdom and conception of happiness, for man either purposes to wish and to be able to keep the letter of the law or else prescribes for himself some work to do, which God has not commanded but left free, and therefore likes to think the works prescribed by himself to be a sure road to blessedness, and clings to his opinion to his own injury. And for just this reason Paul complains of the Galatians, that having been mercifully enlightened of God they turned again to their own devices, that is, to the weak elements, to which the Jews and heathen held, and had not so strong a belief in God, that they trusted alone in Him and hoped alone in Him, listened alone to His ordinances and will, but foolishly turned again to the devices of men, who, as though they desired to improve what had been neglected by God, said to themselves: "This day, this month, this time, wilt thou abstain from this or that," and make thus ordinances, persuading themselves that he sins who does not keep them. This abstaining I do not wish to condemn, if it occurs freely, to put the flesh under control, and if no self-confidence or vainglory, but rather humility, results. See, that is branding and injuring one's own conscience

capriciously, and is turning toward true idolatry, and is, as David says, Psalm lxxxi., 12, walking in one's own counsels. But this God desired to prevent by the words of David, who says: "Hear, O my people, I will testify unto thee, Israel (that is, he sees God and trusts Him so thoroughly that he is possessed of Him); if thou wilt hearken unto me; there shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god. I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt: open thy mouth, and I will fill or satisfy it. But my people did not hear my voice, and Israel (that is, that which should be Israel) did not hearken to me, and I left them to their own desires, and they will walk in their own counsels." O Christian of right belief, consider these words well, ponder them carefully, and you will see that God desires that we hearken to Him alone! If now we are thoroughly imbued with Him, no new god will be honoured within our hearts, no man instead of God, no feeling of our own instead of God. But if we do not hear the true warnings of God, He will let us walk according to the desires and devices of our own hearts. Do we not see that consolation oftener is sought in human hearts than in God; that they are more severely punished who transgress human laws than those who not only transgress but also despise and reject God's laws? Lo, these are the new idols which we have cast and chiseled in our hearts. Enough has now been said about these words of Paul, and it is authority enough to prove that we are as little forbidden by God to eat at certain times as we are now forbidden by Him to eat certain sorts and kinds of food.

They will now raise as objections the fasts, or all fast days, saying that people will never fast if they are allowed to eat meat. Answer: Have you heretofore fasted

because you were not allowed to eat meat, as naughty children that will not eat their broth, because they are not given meat? If anyone desires to fast, has he not as much the power to do so, when labourers eat meat, as when they are forced to fast with the idle, and are thus less able to do and to endure their labours? In a word, if you will fast, do so; if you do not wish to eat meat, eat it not; but leave Christians a free choice in the matter. You are an idler, should fast often, should often abstain from foods that make you lustful. But the labourers' lusts pass away at the hoe and plough in the field. You say, the idle will eat meat without need. Answer: The very same fill themselves with still richer foods, that excite more than the highly seasoned and spiced. And if they complain of the breaking up of the custom [of fasting], it is nothing but envy, because they dislike to see that considered proper for common men, for which they can well find a substitute without difficulty and without weakening the body, on the contrary, even with pleasure; for fish eating is surely everywhere a pleasure. You say that many cannot endure this liberty in eating, not from envy, but from fear of God. Answer: O you foolish hypocrites, do you think that there is danger and injury in what God has left free? If there were in it danger to the soul God would not have left it unforbidden. Likewise, if you are so concerned about others, as to what they should not eat, why will you not note their poverty and aid it? If you would have a Christian heart, act to it then. If the spirit of your belief teaches you thus, then fast, but grant also your neighbour the privilege of Christian liberty, and fear God greatly, if you have transgressed His laws, nor make what man has invented greater before God than what God Himself hath commanded, or again

I will turn out a hypocrite of you, if you are such a knotty block, twisted in yourself and depending upon your own devices.

Concerning the Commandment of Men.

Here the first difficulty will occur, when one speaks to those who complaining ask : Is one to let go the ordinances of our pious fathers? Where have the Fathers or the Councils forbidden the use of meat during fasts? They can show no Council, but they come forward with the fasts : referring to canonical law. De Con. di., v., 40.

Is one not to keep the feasts? Answer : Who says or teaches that? If you are not content with the fasts, then fast also Shrovetide. Indeed, I say that it is a good thing for a man to fast, if he fasts as fasts are taught by Christ : Matthew, vi., 16, and Isaiah, lviii., 6. But show me on the authority of the Scriptures that one cannot fast with meat. Even if it could be shown, as it cannot, still you know very well that labourers are relieved of the burden of fasting, according to your laws. Here I demand of you to show me where meat is forbidden to him not under obligation to fast. Thus they turn away from the observance of the fast, and at last they all come to the canonical law, fourth chapter, " Denique, etc.," and when you ask for a waggon, they offer you a chopping-knife. The chapter beginning " Denique " does not command you to forbid laymen to eat meat ; it shows that at these same times the laymen fill themselves with meat on the Sundays in the fast more than on other days. You hear, more than on other days : Thus they eat meat on other days, but that they keep it up on Sundays till midnight, troubles Gregory ; still he says that they are not to be forced from this custom, lest they do worse. But the priests and the

deacons he recommends to abstinence from meat, eggs, and cheese—read this well and with judgment and you will find this rather against you than for you. After that they come with Thomas Aquinas, as though one single mendicant monk had power to prescribe laws for all Christian folk. Finally they must help themselves out with custom, and they consider abstinence from food to be a custom. How old the custom is supposed to be, we cannot really know, especially with regard to meat, but of abstinence from eggs the custom cannot be so very old, for some nations even to-day eat eggs without permission from Rome, as in Austria and elsewhere. Milk food became a sin in the Swiss Confederation in the last century and was again forgiven. And since I have chanced upon this matter, I must show you a pretty piece of business, so that you may protect yourselves thus from the greed of the powerful clergy. Our dear fellow Swiss purchased the privilege of using milk food from the Bishop of Rome in the last century: Proof, the documents about it at Lucern. Go back now before the time of these letters and think what our forefathers ate before the indulgence, and you cannot say that they ate oil, for in the Bull the complaint was made that people in our country are not accustomed to eat oil, that they ate the foods usual there, milk, whey, cheese, and butter. Now if that was a sin, why did the Roman bishops watch so lazily that they allowed them to eat these fourteen hundred years? If it is not a sin, as it is not, why did they demand money to permit it? Say rather this, I see that it is nothing but air, see that the Roman bishops announced that it was a sin, when it became money to them: Proof, as soon as they announced it as a sin, they immediately sold it for money, and thus abused our simplicity, when we ought fairly to have seen, that, if it was sin according

to God's law, no man can remit it, any more than that one might murder a man, which is forbidden by divine law, could be permitted by anyone, although many distasteful sins of this kind are committed. From all these remarks you notice also that abstinence from meat and drink is an old custom, which however later by the wickedness of some of the clergy became to be viewed as a command. So if the custom is not bad or dishonourable, one is to keep it properly, as long and as thoroughly as the greater part of men might be offended by its infringement. Answer: This will take a longer time, therefore I shall speak now of offence or vexation.

Of Offence or Vexation.

Offence or vexation, Greek, *skandalon*, is understood in two ways: first, when one offends others, so that they sin in judgment or decision, and become worse; and of these we desire to speak first; second, offence occurs, although not in the Scriptures, but here as accepted by us, when a man in himself becomes more sinful or worse, or when a whole parish is purposely brought into a worse condition.

Firstly, Christian love demands that everyone avoid that which can offend or vex his neighbour, in so far, however, as it does not injure the faith, of course you are to understand. Since the Gospel has been preached frequently in these years, many have therefore become better and more God-fearing, but many on the contrary have become worse. And since there is much opposition to their bad opinion and plans, they attack the Gospel, which attacks the good cannot endure but oppose. From which reason the bad cry out saying: I wish the Gospel were not preached. It sets us at variance among

ourselves. Here one should not yield for that reason, but should keep close before his eyes what Christ says: Matthew, x., 32: "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth (understand by this, peace with the Godless or sinful): I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

In these words Christ gives us strength not to consider the vexation of those who will not be convinced of the truth; and, even though they are our nearest and dearest, we are not to be worried, if they separate from us, as He says later, Matt., x., 37: "Whosoever loves father and mother more than me, he is not worthy of me; whoever loves his son or daughter better than me, he is not worthy of me, and whoever does not take his cross and follow me, he is not worthy of me." And also Luke, xiv., 26. So wherever it is a matter of God's honour, of the belief or of hope in God, we should suffer all things rather than allow ourselves to be forced from this. But where a thing cannot harm the belief, but offends one's neighbour, although it is not a sin, one should still spare his neighbour in that he should not injure him; as eating meat is not forbidden at any time by divine law; but, where it injures or offends one's neighbour, one should not eat it without cause. One should make those of little faith strong in the faith.

But when one (thirdly) will not be referred to the divine truth and the Scriptures, when one says: "I firmly believe that Christ has never forbidden me any food at any time," and when the one of little faith will not

grant it or believe it, although one shows him the Scriptures about it: then the one who believes in liberty shall not yield to him, although he should yield the matter of eating meat in his presence, if it is not necessary: but he should cleave to the Scriptures and not let the sweet yoke of Christ and the light burden become bitter, so that it may not be unpleasant to men or please them less, and thereby show that it is a human and not a divine prohibition. Thus a burgomaster gives an answer, in the name of the Council, and after the answer adds something harsh and hard, which the council did not command him to say and did not intend. He says: "This I say of myself; the Council has not commanded it. "This also, all those that teach in God's name should not sell their commands, ordinances, and burdens as God's, so that the yoke of His mercy should not become unpleasant to anyone, but should leave them free. That I shall prove by the opinion of Christ: Matthew, xxiv., 49, and Luke, xii., 45, where He does not want one to trouble one's fellow servants, that is one's fellow Christians. But if that servant say maliciously in his heart, "My Lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to beat his fellow servants and to eat in excess and to drink with drunkards, the Lord of that servant will come on a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not watching, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint the share of the bad servant to the Pharisees." Here open your eyes and see whether the servant, to whom it was given to pasture the sheep of Christ, has not now for a long time beaten his fellow servants, that is, fellow Christians; whether he has not eaten and drunk excessively, and, as though there was no God, run riot, and troubled Christians with great burdens (I speak of bad bishops and priests—take it not of yourself, pious man) so that the sweet yoke of Christ has

become to all Christians a bitter herb. On the other hand, see how the Lord has come with His light and illuminated the world with the Gospel, so that Christians, recognising their liberty, will not let themselves be led any more behind the stove and into the darkness from which a schism has come about, so that we really see that God has uncovered the Pharisees and hypocrites and has made a separate division of them. Yes, in that case I venture to command you to fight against those who prefer to keep the heavy yoke of the hypocrites rather than to take the sweet yoke of Christ upon themselves, and in thus doing to be careful to offend no one, but, as much as is in them, to keep peace with all men, as Paul says. Not everyone can do this, or knows how far to yield or to make use of Christian liberty, therefore we will hear the opinion of Paul about offence.

Secondly, Paul teaches in the Epistle to the Romans, xiv. and xv., how one should avoid giving offence; these words I translate into German and give more according to the sense than the letter. Him, he says, that is weak in the faith, help, but do not lead him into the trouble of still greater doubt. One believes that it is proper for him to eat all things; but the other, weak in faith, eats only herbs. Now the one who is certain that he may eat all things, shall not despise him who does not venture to do such (understand, from little faith); and he who ventures not to eat all things shall not judge the eater, for God has accepted and consoled him. You weak man, who are you that you judge another man's servant? He will stand upright or fall for his own master, still he will be supported or held up, for God can well support or hold him up. One man esteems one day above another, another esteems all days alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, that he who regards one day

above another may do so to the honour of God, and that he who regards not one day above another does the same to the honour of God (understand that he has so strong a faith that he certainly does not believe himself at any time freed from God's rule, for the greatest honour to God is to recognise Him aright and those things which are given us by Him: John, xvii., 3, and I. Corinthians, ii., 12); also that he who eats all kinds of food, does the same to the honour of the Lord, for he gives the Lord thanks, and he who does not eat, does it also to the honour of God, and is also thankful to God, for no one among us lives for himself or dies for himself. Whether we live, let us live for the Lord, or whether we die, let us die for the Lord; and therefore whether we live or die, we are the Lord's. For to that end Christ died, arose, and lived again, that He might be Lord of the living and the dead. But, you weak man, why do you judge your brother? Or, you stronger man who eat, why do you despise your brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is written in Isaiah, xlv., 23: "As I live, saith the Lord, to me shall all knees bow, and all tongues shall confess me, who am God." Therefore shall each one of us render God an account. Thus let us not judge one another, but be this our judgment, that no one displease or offend his brother. I know and am taught in Jesus Christ that nothing is unclean of its nature, except that it is unclean to him who considers it unclean. But if your brother is offended or injured on account of food, you do not act according to love (that is, you do not give up the food which injured your brother before he has been correctly instructed). Vex and injure and offend not with food your brother, for whom Christ died, and in return your goodness (that you do all things in your faith, you eat, you keep fast, or not)

shall not be despised. For the kingdom of God is not food or drink, but piety, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Whoever serves Christ in these things, is pleasing to God and proved before men. Let us then strive to do the things which lead to peace; and that we may edify one another (that is, properly instruct), do not make God's work (piety, peace, and joy, as is written above) of no avail on account of food. All things are clean, but it is bad that a man eat with vexation and offence as a result. It is proper and good that a man eat no meat and drink no wine, indeed eat nothing, whereby your brother is vexed or offended or whereby he is ill. You who are stronger, if you have faith, have it in you before God. Happy is he who does not doubt that which he considers certain; but whoever doubts and, in doubt, eats the meat about which he doubts, he is condemned; for the reason that he did not eat from belief; for what is done not in belief, is sin. Also thus should we, who are strong in belief, be patient with the timidity of the weak, and not please ourselves, but each of us please his neighbour by edifying and doing him good; for Christ did not please Himself, but as it is written, "The insults of those who revile you, have fallen upon me." All these are words of Paul, from which you will shortly conclude three things. First, that he who firmly believes that it is proper for him to eat all things, is called strong; and secondly, that one who has no belief is called timid or weak; thirdly, that the strong should not let the weak remain always weak, but should take him and instruct him, that he become also strong, and should yield a point to the weak and not vex him maliciously. How we are to yield a point to the weak, you shall hear.

Thirdly, Paul says of vexation, I. Corinthians, viii., 1, to those who were present: They might eat of that which

had been offered to the idols, for this reason. They well knew they believed not in the idols, and therefore without soiling their consciences they might eat such food, in spite of those who were badly offended by it; indeed to them he speaks thus: We know that we all have understanding or knowledge of the food which is offered to the idols. Knowledge puffeth up and maketh conceited, but love edifieth. Here Paul means, that you, although you, a man firm in faith, know you do not sin, when you eat the food of the idols, should, if you love your neighbour, favor him fairly, so that you offend him not; and when in time he is better instructed, he will be greatly edified, when he sees that your Christian love overlooked his ignorance so mercifully. After Paul has said that those well taught in the faith know well there is no idol, but only one true God and one Lord Jesus Christ, it is further mentioned that not everyone is so well taught as the first mentioned; for some eat the food of the idols in such manner that they still hold to them somewhat, and also that food does not commend us to God (as is shown above in the first part of the fourth division). Indeed after all that he says further: See that your power or freedom does not vex the weak, for if one of them sees you sitting knowingly at a table where the food of idols is eaten, will not his conscience be strengthened or encouraged to eat the food of idols? And then your weak brother through your knowledge and understanding perishes, for whom Christ died. See how strongly Paul opposes wanton treatment of the weak. It follows further on that when you thus sin against your brethren, frightening and striking their weak consciences, you sin against Christ; therefore, if food offends my brother I will rather never eat meat than that I make my brother offend. Here notice that, although the foregoing words

are spoken of the food of idols, they still show us in a clear way how we should conduct ourselves in this matter of food, namely, that we should abstain in every way from making to offend, and that he is not without sin, who acts against his brother, for he acts also against Christ, whose brother each Christian is. But you say, "What if my brother from stubbornness will not at all be taught, but always remains weak?" The answer will follow in the last part.

Fourthly, Paul writes in the above mentioned epistle, I. Corinthians, x., 23: "All things are lawful for me, but all do not result in usefulness." Let no one seek his own good, let each seek, that is, strive for, the advantage of the other. Eat all that is sold in the shambles, not hesitating for conscience' sake; for the earth is the Lord's (as it reads in Psalm xxiv., 1), and all the fulness of the earth, or all that is in the earth. If an unbeliever invites you and you want to go with him, eat all that is placed before you (that is, as far as the kind of food is concerned: otherwise he would be a faithless glutton, if he ate all) not doubting for conscience' sake. But if one said to you: "That is from the sacrifice to the idols," eat it not for the sake of him who thus points it out to you, and for conscience' sake. I say not for *your* conscience' sake but for the sake of *another's* conscience. For why is my liberty judged by the conscience of another, if I eat with gratitude? Therefore, whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do it to the honour of God; do not offend Jews or heathen and God's Church, just as I endeavour to please all men, not regarding myself, but the many, that they be saved; they are my followers as I am a follower of Christ. Here you see, first, that we should avoid for the sake of another what otherwise would be proper; secondly, that all things are

proper for us to eat, that are sold in the shambles, without violence to the conscience; thirdly, how one should act about eating forbidden food after the manner prescribed for the food offered to idols; for although our proposition and the one here in Paul are not wholly alike, still a good rule is to be derived therefrom; fourthly, that although your liberty cannot be judged according to another's conscience, nor you yourself condemned, still you should always consider the honour of God, which honour, however, grows the greater among men, if they see you for the sake of the honour of God not using your liberty; fifthly, that all things can take place to the honour of God, indeed the daily custom of eating and drinking, of working, trading, marrying, if a man cleaves to God in all his doings, and trusts that he is called to, and chosen for, the work by God. And do not let this idea, which may occur to you, trouble you: "Then I will blaspheme, gamble, commit adultery, do other wrongs and think I am called to this by God." For such things do not please the man who trusts in God. The tree is now good, let it produce only good fruit. And if one lives not in himself, but Christ lives in him so thoroughly that, although a mistake escapes him, he suffers from that hour for it, he is ashamed of his weakness. But those who thus speak are godless, and with such words insult God and those who have the Spirit of God. Listen to a striking example. No respectable and pious wife, who has a good husband, can allow one to report that which is dishonourable to her husband or let a suspicion arise of a misdeed, which she knows is displeasing to him. So man, in whom God rules, although weak, still cannot endure to be shamefully spoken of against his will. But a wanton likes to hear the disgrace of her husband and what is against him. Thus also those, who speak thus,

are Godless ; otherwise, if they had God in their hearts, they would not willingly hear such disgraceful words.

Fifthly, Paul had Timothy circumcised, although the circumcision was of no service, still that he might not offend the Jews, who at that time still believed that one must keep the Old Testament with its ceremonies together with the New Testament; and so he had it done, as it is written in Acts, xvi., 3.

Sixthly, Christ Himself did not wish to offend anyone ; for, when at Capernaum Peter was asked, Matthew, xvii., 24, whether his master paid tribute, Peter answered, "Yes." And after they had entered the house, Christ anticipated Peter (who doubtless was about to ask Him something about tribute) and said: "Simon, what thinkest thou? Do the kings of this world take tribute and custom of their children or of strangers?" Peter answered him: "Of strangers." Jesus said to him: "Then are thy children free. But lest we should offend them, go to the sea and cast a hook, and the first fish that comes up take ; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a coin (it was a penny, that could pay for them both, but was worth much more than the real tax pennies, wherefore I think it was a tribute which they collected from Christ), take it and give it for thee and me." Thus Christ did not desire to vex the authorities, but rather to do what He might otherwise refuse. This paragraph I would not have added, had not my opponents represented it thus: Christ, they said, desired Himself to avoid taxation. For this article is more against them than for them ; thus, if you spiritual teachers in the flesh are all so inclined to avoid vexation, why do you not then also help to bear the common burden, when you see that the parish is badly vexed about it and cries out: "You go lazily away from our work. Why

do you not help us carry the burden?" Hear also that Christ gave the tribute money, in order not to arouse anyone to anger. Loose the knot. There are more places still in the Gospel in which the word *skandalon* is written; but it means there either disgrace; or if it means offence, it is used in the following sense: disgrace and contempt, Matthew, xviii., 7. "Woe unto the world because of offences," that is, woe unto the world on account of disgrace and contempt, since one despises, refuses, and rejects the simple (who is, however, as much God's as the highest), which the following words mean, when He says: "Take heed lest ye offend one of the least of these." Thus it is also to be understood, Luke, xvii., 1, which also is clear from what precedes about the rich man, who did not let poor Lazarus have the crumbs. Thus also Mark, ix., 42. But *skandalon* or vexation, so taken, does not fit our purpose, therefore from the first I did not wish to divide it into three parts.

Of Avoiding Vexation.

From the above mentioned arguments one can readily learn that one should carefully avoid offence. But still I must think, that, as one should forgive the weak, one should also in forgiving teach and strengthen him, and not always feed him with milk, but turn him to heartier food; for Christ says, Matthew, xiii., 41: "The Son of man shall send forth his angels (that is, messengers), and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which are not God-fearing and do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire." Are His angels to do that? Yes. Then it is better that we should do it ourselves; then it will not be done by God and punished so severely, as Paul teaches us, I.

Corinthians, xi., 31 : "For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged." If we ourselves take the offence, it must not be taken with the judgment of God, to which now St. Paul arouses us.

Firstly, Christ says, Matthew, v., 29 : "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee : for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee : for it is profitable," etc., as above. The same is also said in Matthew, xviii., 8, except that he adds the foot. Who is now the eye, the hand, the foot, which, offending us, shall be cast away ? Every bishop is an eye, every clergyman, every officer, who are nothing more than overseers ; and the Greek word *episkopos*, is in German an overseer, to which the words of St. Paul refer, Acts, xx., 28, where he says to the bishops of Ephesus : "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops (that is, overseers or shepherds), to watch and feed the Church of God, which he hath bought with his own blood. "Here you see briefly what their duty is : overseeing the sheep, feeding, not flaying and shearing too closely and loading them with unbearable burdens, which is nothing else than giving offence, pointing out sins that are not present, so that weak consciences are troubled and made to despair ; this is offending God's little ones, Matthew, xviii., 6. But you see yourself, according to the words of Isaiah, lvi., 10, that His watchmen have become blind, all ignorant, stupid dogs, that cannot bark, taught in loose things, lazily sleeping and dreaming, indeed, preferring dreams to the truth, the most shameless dogs, which cannot be satisfied : shepherds which have no reason, each

following his own way or capricious desires, all avaricious, from the highest to the lowest, saying: "Let us drink good wine and become full, and as we do to-day, so shall we do to-morrow, yea, still more." These all are the words of Isaiah, and little is to be added. Do you not see that such eyes offend men much, and, although Christ tells us to pluck them out, we suffer them patiently? Understand also hand and foot which are so nearly related to you, as your own members; indeed, even if they are necessary to you for support and strength as a hand or a foot, still one is to remove them if they abuse their superiority. Now this paragraph is placed here by me to prove that offence should be avoided, and that one should not always endure it, but that everything should take place with timely counsel and reason, not with anyone's own assumption and arrogance. If they do not do that, who ought to do it? We should recognise that our sins have deserved of God this, that such blind eyes lead us, the blind, astray, and rule us. Nehemiah, ix., 30: "Thou hast warned them in thy spirit through thy prophets, and they have not followed, and thou hast given them into the hand of the people of the earth," that is, into the hands of the unbelievers. Also Isaiah, iii., 4: "And I will give children to be their princes (note this well), and old women shall rule them."

Secondly, the words of Paul are to be considered, Romans, xiv., where it is mentioned above in the second article on giving offence, in which place he says: "Him that is weak in faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." See you, the weak is not to be allowed to remain weak, but is to be instructed in the truth, not with subtle arguments, by which one becomes more doubtful, but with the pure, simple truth, so that all doubt may be

removed. Therefore I could well endure that those who are considered steadier and stronger in belief, also understood how to make Christians strong in belief, and gave them really to understand what has been given and left to them by God; but they do exactly the contrary. If anything is strong, they wish to make the same again weak and timid. Woe to them, as Christ spoke to the Pharisees, Matthew, xxiii., 13: "For they closed the kingdom of God to men, for they neither go in themselves nor let other people go in." By means of these words of Christ and of Paul, I think I have excused my arrogance, of which certain hypocrites accused me, that is, of having preached upon freedom concerning food on the third Sunday of this fast, when they thought that I ought not to do it. Why? Should I snatch from the hand of those who cling to the Scriptures, which I myself have preached, their means of defence, and contradict the Scriptures and say they lie? And should I have in my hands the key of God's wisdom, as Christ says, Luke, xi., 52, and not open to the ignorant, but also close it before the eyes of the knowing? Do not deceive yourself that you have persuaded me to this, you vain, loose hypocrite. I will rather take care of my soul, which I have laden with enough other misdeeds, and will not murder it outright with a suppression of the truth.

Thirdly, it is true that Paul had Timothy circumcised, Acts, xvi., 3. But on the other hand as he says, Galatians, ii., 3, he did not have Titus circumcised: "Titus who was with me, did not want to be forced to circumcision. He had this reason: False brethren have slipped unseen among us, who are come into our midst to spy out our liberty, which we have in Jesus Christ, that they might make us again slaves and subjects, to

whom we yielded not a moment, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you." Those who protect the liberty of the Gospel put this up before the ceremonies as a shield and bulwark. If Paul circumcised Timothy, still he did not on the contrary have Titus circumcised, although much reproach came to him on that account. What is to be done with him? Is Paul inconsistent with himself? No. If he had Timothy circumcised, it was because he could not keep him from it on account of the great disturbance of the Jews, who were Christians. But afterwards, those of the Jews who had become Christians were better taught, so that he was able to spare Titus and protect him without great uproar; and, although some demanded his circumcision, and, when it did not happen, were greatly offended at it, he considered the truth and Christian liberty more than any strife that arose against it from bad feeling. Notice also in these words from Paul how everywhere the false brethren had undertaken to take liberty from Christians.

Fourthly, Paul writes, Galatians, ii., 12, that Peter ate with the Christians, who had become believers from heathendom, indeed, he ate with the heathen. But when some came from Jerusalem to Antioch who were also Christians but converted from Judaism, he fled from the heathen, so that the Jews might not be offended. Paul did not desire him to do that, but chid him in these words: "You teach the heathen to live as Jews, because you are a Jew by birth"; that is, if you flee from the heathen on account of the Jews, you raise a suspicion against the heathen, that they were not really Christians, or they would have to keep human fasts, as the Jews, or else sin. And about this he said: "When I saw that he did not walk uprightly, I withstood him

to his face." At this place you find Paul, who teaches diligently, not offending, not caring if a few want to be offended, providing he could keep the greater multitude unaffected and unsuspicious. For if even the Jews, on whose account Peter fled from the heathen, became offended, still Paul gave them no attention, so that the heathen Christian (thus I call them that were converted from heathendom) could remain free and would not be brought under the oppression of the law by Jewish Christians.

When Christ spoke to the Pharisees, Matthew, xv., 11 : "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man," his disciples said to Him : "Knowest thou that the Pharisees who heard these words were offended and angered?" Christ answered them : "Let them go ; they be blind leaders of the blind." See that here Christ's meaning is, as it seems to me, that the disciples should let the Pharisees go and should live according to their liberty and custom in spite of them ; for they were blind, and saw not the truth of liberty ; were also leaders of those who erred as they did. Since now in the above two articles, I have spoken enough of offence and of the doing away with offence, it seems to me good to bring together in short statements all that touches upon offence, so that each may know where he shall yield and where not.

I. What clearly affects the divine truth, as the belief and commandments of God, no one shall yield, whether one is offended or not. Psalm cxlv., 18 ; I. Corinthians, ii., 2 ; Matthew, v., 10 : "Blessed are they which suffer for righteousness' sake." II. Corinthians, xiii., 8 : "For we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth."

II. The liberties, which are given to man by God,

touching the law of food and other such things, should be considered with regard to God and man.

III. When one speaks of the liberty now under discussion, that we are released by God from all such burdens, one shall not yield in respect to truth and belief, whether one offend or not. For Paul says : "All things are proper for me."

IV. But when the practice of liberty offends your neighbour, you should not offend or vex him without cause ; for when he perceives it, he will be offended no more, unless he is angry purposely, as when the Jews became angry at the disciples' eating with unwashed hands and on the Sabbath : Mark, ii., 24.

V. But you are to instruct him as a friend in the belief, how all things are proper and free for him to eat. Romans, xv., 1 : " We who are stronger in the faith shall receive the weak," that is, comfort and instruct them.

VI. But when forgiving avails not, do as Christ said, Matthew, xv., 14 : " Let them go."

VII. And use your liberty, wherever you can without public disturbance, just as Paul did not have Titus circumcised : Gal., ii., 3.

VIII. But if it causes public uproar, do not use it, just as Paul had Timothy circumcised : Acts, xvi., 3.

IX. Gradually teach the weak with all industry and care, until they are instructed, so that the number of the strong is so large that no one, or still only a few, can be offended ; for they will certainly let themselves be taught ; so strong is the Word of God, that it will remain not without fruit : Isaiah, lv., 10.

X. Take this same view in other things, which are only means : as eating meat, working on holy days after one has heard the Word of God and taken communion, and the like.

Of Being Offended at Innocent Customs.

On account of all this, they complain very bitterly who have learned the acceptance of virtues rather from Aristotle than from Christ : saying that in this way all good works, as not eating meat, abstaining from labour, and other things which I shall not mention, are done away with. To these I answer as follows : Many mistakes are made as to the choice of good works, although we might well hear what St. James says, i., 17, that all good gifts and presents come from above from the Father of light. From this we can conclude that all good which pleases God must come from Him ; for if it came from any other source, there would be two or more sources of good, of which there is however only one ; Jeremiah, ii., 13 : "They have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Notice the fountain ; notice the broken cistern. Thus Christ speaks to the young man who called Him good, in order to do Him eye-service : "God alone is good." If He alone is good, without doubt no good fruit can come from any source except from the tree which alone is good. Then notice the angels and you will find, that, as soon as they depended somewhat upon themselves, they fell. Thus also man, as soon as he depended somewhat upon himself, fell into the trouble that still follows us. See, those are the bad, false, broken cisterns, which are dug and thrown up only by men, not real natural fountains. Thus they thought that that would seem good to God and please Him, which they had attempted and which resulted in great disadvantage to them, from no other reason, as I think, than that they had assumed to know the good or the right, and did not depend alone on God and trust alone

in Him. Not that I mean to say that abstinence from food is bad; indeed, where it comes from the leading and inspiration of the Divine Spirit, it is without doubt good; but where it comes simply from fear of human command, and is to be considered as a divine command and thus trusted in, and where man begins to please himself thereby, it is not only not good but also injurious; unless you show me from the Holy Writ that our inventions must please God. I shall also not be worsted, if you say to me: "Still the assembly of a church may set up ordinances which are kept also in heaven." Matthew, xvi., 19, and xviii., 18: "Verily I say unto you whatsoever ye shall bind on heart shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." That is true, but the observance is not made by the whole Christian Church, indeed only by certain bishops, who had for a time undertaken to place upon Christians certain laws, without the knowledge of the common people. Also if you should say that silence is a form of consent, I answer: The pious simplicity of Christians has kept silence in many things from fear, and that no one has told them of their liberty coming from the Scriptures. For example, whom did it ever please that the Pope conferred all benefices on his servants? Indeed, every pious man everywhere has said, "I do not believe it is right." But the people kept still about it with much pain, till the Gospel truth gave forth light, when for the first time the mask was taken from it. Thus also here the clergy have taken a hand to control everything, after they have seen Christians willingly following them. Why? They fear us for the reason lest he who transgresses the command be obliged to give us money. Yet it all would have had no success, if such oppressive regulations were not given out as being divine.

We sold them for that, and where the agreement was of that kind, after the truth had come to light, you can see what kind of an agreement it was. But we will hear what Paul says of works.

To the Colossians, ii., 16 (which passage I have quoted above), he writes: "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days: which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ. Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (Touch not, taste not, handle not: which things are all to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things indeed have a showing of wisdom in will-worship, humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh." All these are the words of Paul, which in Latin are not at all intelligible, but in Greek are somewhat clearer. But that each may well understand them, I shall briefly paraphrase them.

No one shall reject you or consider you good on account of any food, or holy day, whether you rest or not (always excepting Sundays, after God's Word has been heard and communion administered). Let the new moon fast and the Sabbath go; for these things have become only symbolical of a Christian holiday, when one is to cease and leave off sinning, also that we, repenting such works, become happy only in the mercy of God; and, as

Christ has come, the shadows and symbols are without doubt done away with. One thing more notice as to the time: It surely seems to me (I cannot help thinking so) that to keep certain times with timidity is an injury and harm to unchanging and everlasting justice, thus: simple people think that everything is right, if only they confess the fasts, fast, enjoy God, take the sacrament, and let the whole year pass away thus; whereas one should at all times confess God, live piously and do no more than we think is necessary in the fast. And Christ says again, Matthew, xxv., 13: "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour."

Further, he reminds them that they shall not allow themselves to be beguiled by those who pretend humility. What is beguiling but disregarding the simple meaning of God and wanting to find or show to the simple another shorter way to happiness, and to seek therewith wealth, name, and the reputation of a spiritual man? Therefore Paul advises against this and warns us that we should not allow ourselves to be beguiled, that is, not allow ourselves to be deceived. For the same hypocrites will falsely assert, that angels spoke with them and revealed something to them, and will elevate themselves on that account. Listen, how well he paints them in their true colours, and yet we do not want to recognise them. Why do you dream here of the doctrines and ordinances which are chattered out at the pulpit in the cloisters? And why of the crows which nip the ears of some of you? Do you not now hear that all such things are suggested by the flesh, and not by the spirit? For the same depend not on the head of Christ, from which all other members being arranged, coördinated, and united, receive their nourishment or support of heavenly life, and progress in a growth that pleases God. Notice here in the spiritual

growth and increase a different method than in the bodily. In the body all members grow from the sustenance of the belly, but in the spirit from the head of Christ. Consider now human doctrines: if they are like the opinion of the head, they are sustained by the head; if they are not like it, they come from the belly: O ventres, O ye bellies! But if we are dead with Christ to the rudiments of the world, that is, if Christ by His death made us free from all sins and burdens; then we are also in baptism, that is in belief, freed from all Jewish or human ceremonies and chosen works, which he calls the rudiments. If we are now dead to the rudiments, why do we burden ourselves with fictitious human ordinances? Just as though God did not consider and think enough, did not give us sufficient instruction and access to blessedness and we make ourselves ordinances, which oppress us saying: "Touch not, taste not, handle not"; which touching or eating does not serve to injure or disturb the soul. For only for this purpose have the false teachers pretended that this was injurious, that with simple-minded people they might have the name of being wise and godly, indeed also with those who prescribe for themselves their own religion, saying: "Is not such abstinence and purification of the body a good thing? Is it not a good thing to prevent sin by good ordinances?" Hear how much weight Paul gives this folly. He says these things have only the form of the good. If they have only the form of the good, they are themselves not good in the sight of God, for they arise from *ethelothriskeia*. It is a Greek word, and means the honour or fear of God, which one has chosen for himself and to which he stubbornly clings: as, for example, many will not cut the beard on Friday and think they greatly honour God thereby; and, when they transgress this, they greatly sin

in thus doing, and consider the rule that they themselves have set up so important, that they would three times sooner break their marriage vows, than to do anything against their reputation for wisdom. Indeed, deceive not yourself that things are with God as you have persuaded yourself ; that is true superstition, a stubborn self-chosen spirit. Here in the words of Paul consider the greater part of the ordinances and rules, and you will find pretty things. Thus are the most human ordinances, of which Christ says, Matthew, xv., 9 : " But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." He says *matin*, Greek for impossible, in vain ; that tells the very truth. Then this follows : But they are worth nothing, if you consider them according to the need and wants of the body. All food is created for the support of man ; as far as it only affects bodily use it is of no moment, whether you eat this or that food. Go rather again to the clearer words of Paul and read them again, and they will be much clearer to you and worthier in your heart.

Pious servants of Christ, these are the opinions, which I have preached from the Holy Writ, and have again collected for no other purpose than that the Scriptures might be forcibly brought to the notice of those ignorant of the same, and as Christ commands that they might rather search them, and that you and your people may be less reviled by them. For as far as I am concerned, it was entirely against my will to write of these things, for the reason that, even if winning by the aid of the Scriptures, as without doubt I shall win with God's help, still I have gained nothing, except that according to divine law no kind of food is forbidden to man at any time ; although among the right and humbly thankful this writing of mine causes great joy of conscience, in which they rejoice

in freedom, even if they never eat meat at forbidden times. And as a result I must have a worse time avoiding offence than if I had left the world in the belief that it was a divine ordinance, which, however, I could not do. You know that the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to Timothy, to the Galatians, both Epistles to Peter, about which you all heard me preach, are full of such opinions. But one must clear the dear face of Christ of such spots, unseemly things, and of the foulness of human commands ; and He will become again dear to us, if we properly feel the sweetness of His yoke, and the lightness of His burden. God bless this His doctrine ! Amen.

What has been written above, I am responsible before God and man to account and answer for, and I also desire of all who understand the Scriptures, in case I have misused the same, to inform me of this either orally or by letter, not disgracing the truth by shameless clatter behind one's back, which is dishonourable and unmanly. I desire to be guided everywhere by the New and Old Testaments. But what follows, I only wish to view as submitted, still with proof from the Scriptures, and let each one judge of it in secret for himself.

Whether Anyone Has Power to Forbid Foods.

I. The general gathering of Christians may accept for themselves fasts and abstinence from foods, but not set these up as a common and everlasting law.

II. For God says : Deut., iv., 2 : "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." And also xii., 32 : "What thing soever I command you, observe to do it : thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it."

III. If one could not and should not add to the Old Testament, then much less to the New.

IV. For the Old Testament has passed away and was not otherwise given except that it should pass away in its time; but the New is everlasting, and can never be done away with.

V. This is shown by the sanctification of both Testaments. The Old is sprinkled and sanctified by the blood of animals, but the New with the blood of the everlasting God, for Christ thus spake: "This is the cup of my blood of a new and everlasting testament," etc.

VI. If now it is a testament, and Paul, Galatians, iii., 15, says it is: "Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto."

VII. How dare a man add to the testament, to the covenant of God, as though he would better it?

VIII. Galatians, i., 9, Paul curses what is preached otherwise concerning the Gospel, thus: "If any other and more gospel is preached to you than ye have heard, let him that preached it be accursed."

IX. Paul says, Romans, xiii., 8: "Owe no man anything, but to love one another."

X. Again, Galatians, v., 1: "Stand fast therefore in the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

XI. If he is to be cursed who preaches beyond what Paul preached, and if Paul nowhere preached the choice of food, then he who dares command this must be worthy of a curse.

XII. If we are not bound by any law but the law of love, and if freedom as to food injures not the love of one's neighbour, in case this freedom is rightly taught

and understood, then we are not subject to this commandment or law.

XIII. If Paul commands us to remain in the liberty of Christ, why do you command me to depart from it? Indeed, you would force me from it.

XIV. When Christ said to His disciples, "I have yet much to say to you," He did not say, "I have much yet to teach you how ye shall lay commands on men," but He spake of things which He held up before them and which they, however, scarcely understood. But when the spirit of truth shall come, it will teach you all the truth, that they will understand all things according to the light of the Holy Ghost, that is, providing they do not at that time understand, either from ignorance or trouble and fear.

XV. For if such commands are to be understood in this matter, then the disciples have sinned, in not having forbidden labour and the eating of meat, going to the saints, putting on cowls.

XVI. Finally, God spake to Peter, Acts, x., 15: "What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common." And the Sabbath is subject to us, not we to the Sabbath, as it is written above.

These points have forced me to think that the church officers have not only no power to command such things, but if they command them, they sin greatly; for whoever is in office and does more than he is commanded, is liable to punishment. How much more then when they transgress that which is forbidden them; and Christ forbade the bishops to beat their fellow servants. Is it not beating, when a command is placed upon a whole people, to which command the general assembly has not consented? Therefore, in these articles I leave to each, free judgment, and still hope I have to those

thirsting for Christian freedom, made this clear, in spite of the enmity to me that will grow out of it. It is those who fear the spit (on which their meat roasts) will burn off. They fear that, if the matter of eating meat departs, it will take along with it more that has hitherto served pleasure well. Hence, they rage among the simple, who, I wish, may become free and pious in Jesus Christ. God be with us all! Amen. I have written all this hastily; therefore may each understand it as best he can. Given at Zurich, in 1522, on the 16th of April.

RECKONING OF THE FAITH OF HULDREICH ZWINGLI TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR CHARLES.[1]

WE who were preaching the Gospel in the cities of a Christian State were anxiously expecting, O Charles, holy Emperor of right, the time when an account of the faith which we both have and confess would be sought of us also.

While we are standing in readiness for this, it is announced to us, rather by rumour than by any definite announcement, that many have already prepared an outline and summary of their religion and faith, which they are offering you. Here we are between the victim and the knife; for on the one side the love of truth and the desire of public peace incite us the more to do what we see others doing; but, on the other, the shortness of the opportunity terrifies us, since, on account of your haste, all things must be done very rapidly, and, as it were, carelessly, for the report announces this also; and because we who are acting as preachers of the Divine Word in the cities and country of the State mentioned are situated and dispersed at too great a distance

[1] Reprinted by the author's permission from Rev. Prof. Dr. H. E. Jacobs' *Book of Concord*, ii., 159–179, with a slight difference in paragraphing. It is the Confession of Faith which Zwingli laid before the Emperor Charles at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, and gives Zwingli's matured belief on the various points of which it treats.

THE STATUE OF ZWINGLI AT THE BACK OF THE WATER CHURCH, ZURICH, UNVEILED TUESDAY, AUG. 25, 1885.

from one another to be able to assemble in so brief a time, and deliberate as to what is most fitting to write to your Highness; also, as we have seen the confession of some, and even the confutation of the adversaries of the same, which seem to have been prepared before anything was demanded of them, I have believed that it would not be improper if I alone would forthwith set forth an account of my faith apart from the previous judgment of my nation. For if in any business one must hasten slowly, here we must hasten swiftly, lest by passing over the matter with apparent indifference we encounter the danger either of suspicious silence or arrogant negligence. You have here, then, O Emperor, a summary of my faith, presented under these circumstances in order that I may give in testimony my judgment not only concerning these articles, but concerning all that I have ever written, or, by God's goodness, will write, not merely to an individual or to any small number, but for the entire Church of Christ, so far as it is determined by the command and inspiration of the Word and Spirit of God to believe and accept.

Reckoning of the Faith of Ulric Zwingli.

OF THE UNITY AND TRINITY OF GOD.

In the *first place*, I both believe and know that God is one and alone, and that He is by nature good, true, powerful, just, wise, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are indeed three persons, but that their essence is one and single. And I hold altogether according to the exposition of the Creed, the Nicene as well as the Athanasian, in all their details concerning the Godhead Himself and the three names of persons.

Of Christ, the Son of God and Man.

I believe and understand that the Son assumed flesh, because He truly assumed of the immaculate and perpetual Virgin Mary the human nature, yea, the entire man, who consists of body and soul. But this in such a manner that the entire man was so assumed into the unity of the hypostasis, or person of the Son of God, that the man did not constitute a peculiar person, but was assumed into the inseparable, indivisible, and indissoluble person of the Son of God. Moreover, although both natures, the divine and the human, have so preserved their character and property that both are truly and naturally found in Him, yet the distinct properties and works of the natures do not separate the unity of the person; no more than in man soul and body constitute two persons; for as they are of most diverse nature, so they operate by diverse properties and operations. Yet man, who consists of them, is not two persons, but one. So God and man is one Christ, the Son of God from eternity, and the Son of man from the dispensation of time to eternity; one person, one Christ; perfect God and perfect man; not because one nature becomes the other, or they are confused with one another, but because each remains itself; and, nevertheless, the united person is not separated by this property. Hence one and the same Christ, according to His human nature, cries in infancy, grows, increases in wisdom, hungers, thirsts, eats, drinks, is warm, is cold, is scourged, sweats, is wounded, is put to death, fears, is sad, and endures other things that pertain to the penalty and punishment of sin; for He is most remote from sin itself. But according to the property of His divine nature, with the Father He controls the highest and the lowest objects,

pervades, sustains, and fosters all things, illumines the blind, restores the lame, awakens the dead, prostrates His enemies by a word, when dead resumes life, returns to heaven, and sends from Himself the Holy Ghost. All these things, however diverse in nature and character, one and the same Christ does, remaining one person of the Son of God, so that even those things that pertain to His divine nature are sometimes ascribed, on account of the unity and perfection of the person, to the human nature, and those things that pertain to the human nature are sometimes spoken of the divine. He said that He was the Son of man in heaven, although He had not yet ascended into heaven with His body. Peter asserts that Christ suffered for us, when the humanity alone could suffer. But on account of the unity of the person it is truly said both "The Son of God suffered," and "The Son of man forgives sins." For He who is the Son of God and of man in one person forgives sins, according to the property of the divine nature; as we say that man is wise, although consisting of body not less than soul, and a body most remote from wisdom, yea, a poison and hindrance to knowledge and intelligence. And again we say that He was mangled with wounds, when His body alone could receive wounds, but His spirit in no way. Here no one says that two persons are made of man when that which pertains to itself is ascribed to each part; and, again, no one says that the natures are confused when that is predicated of the entire man which, because of the unity of the person, belongs indeed to the entire man, but because of the property of the parts to only one. Paul says: "When I am weak, then am I strong." But who is it that is weak? Paul. Who at the same time is properly well? Paul. But is not this desperate, inconsistent, and intolerable? Not at all.

For Paul is not one nature, although one person. When, therefore, he says, "I am weak," the person which speaks is undoubtedly Paul; but what is said is neither predicated nor understood of both natures, but of the weakness only of the flesh. And when he says, "I am strong and well," undoubtedly the person of Paul speaks, but only the soul is understood. So the Son of God dies, He undoubtedly who, according to the unity and simplicity of His person, is both God and man; yet He dies only with respect to his Humanity. In this manner, concerning the divinity itself and concerning the persons and the assumed human nature, not only do I think, but so also all the orthodox, whether ancients or moderns, have thought; and so think those who even now acknowledge the truth.

Secondly.—I know that this supreme divinity which is my God freely regulates all things, so that His purpose to determine anything does not depend upon the occasion of any creature, preceding reasoning or example; for this is peculiar to defective human wisdom. God, however, who from eternity to eternity regards all things with a single, simple view, has no need of any reasoning or expectation of events; but being equally wise, prudent, good, etc., He freely determines and disposes of all things, for whatever is, is His. Hence it is that, although knowing and foreseeing, He in the beginning formed man who should fall, and nevertheless determined to clothe in human nature His Son, who should restore Him when fallen. For by this means His goodness in every way was manifested. For since He contains in Himself mercy and justice, He exercised His justice when He expelled the transgressor from his happy home in Paradise, when He bound him in the mill of human misery and with the fetters of diseases, when He

shackled him with the law, which, although it was holy, he was never to fulfil. For here, twice miserable, he learned not only that the flesh had fallen into trouble, but that the mind also was tortured from dread of the transgressed law. For although, according to the Spirit, he saw that the law is holy and just and a declaration of the divine mind, so that it enjoined nothing but what equity taught, yet when at the same time he saw that by the deeds of the law the mind does not satisfy itself, condemned by his own judgment, with the hope of attaining happiness removed, departing in despair from God's sight, he thought of enduring nothing but the pain of eternal punishment. Thus far was manifested God's justice.

Moreover, when the time came to publish His goodness, which He had determined from eternity to display no less than His justice, God sent His Son to assume our nature in every part, whereby to outweigh the penalty of sin, in order that, being made our brother and equal, He could be a Mediator to make a sacrifice for us to divine justice, which ought to remain holy and inviolate, no less than His goodness, whereby the world might be sure both of the appeased justice and the present kindness of God. For since He has given His Son to us and for us, how will He not with Him and because of Him give us all things? What is it that we ought not to promise ourselves concerning Him who humbled Himself so as not only to be our equal, but to be altogether ours? Who can sufficiently admire the riches and grace of divine goodness, whereby He so loved the world, *i. e.*, the human race, as to give His Son for its life? These I regard the springs and channels of the Gospel; this the only medicine for the fainting soul, whereby it is restored both to God and self. For nothing save God Himself can make

it certain of God's grace. But now He has so liberally, abundantly, and wisely lavished Himself upon us that nothing further is left for us to desire unless someone would venture to seek beyond what is highest and beyond overflowing abundance.

Thirdly.—I know that there is no other victim for expiating crimes than Christ; for not even was Paul crucified for us; that there is no other name under the sun in which we must be saved than that of Jesus Christ. Here, therefore, not only the justification and satisfaction of our works are denied, but also the expiation or intercession of all saints, whether in earth or heaven, with reference to the goodness or mercy of God. For this is the one, sole Mediator between God and men, the God and man Christ Jesus. Moreover, God's election is manifest and remains firm; for whom He has elected before the foundation of the world, he has so elected, as, through His Son, to receive Him to Himself; for as He is kind and merciful, so also is He holy and just. All the works, therefore, of this mercy savour of mercy and judgment. Therefore, justly, His election also savours of both. It is of His goodness that He has elected whom He will; but it is of His justice to adopt and unite the elect to Himself through His Son, who has been made a victim for satisfying divine justice for us.

Fourthly.—I know that that remote ancestor, our first parent, was induced by self-love, at the pernicious advice suggested to him by the malice of the devil, to desire to become equal to God.

When he had devised this crime he took the forbidden and deadly fruit, whereby he incurred the guilt of capital punishment, having become a public enemy and a foe of God Himself. When, then, He could have

destroyed him, as equity even demanded, nevertheless, being better disposed, God commutes His penalty to the condition of making him a slave whom He could punish. Since this condition neither he himself nor any born of him could remove (for a slave can beget nothing but a slave), by a deadly taking of food he cast all his posterity into slavery. Hence, I think of original sin as follows: It is truly called sin when it is committed against law; for where there is no law there is no transgression, and where there is no transgression there is no sin in the proper sense, inasmuch as sin is clearly enormity, crime, outrage, or guilt. I confess, therefore, that our father committed what is truly a sin — viz., an enormity, a crime, an execrable deed. But those begotten of him have not sinned in this manner, for who of us destroyed with his teeth the forbidden fruit in Paradise? Therefore, willing or unwilling, we are forced to admit that original sin, as it is in the children of Adam, is not properly sin, as has been explained: for it is no outrage upon any law. It is therefore, properly, a disease and condition — a disease, because just as he fell from self-love, so also do we; a condition, because just as he became a slave and subject to death, so also are we born slaves and children of wrath and subject to death. Although I object not to this disease and condition being called, after the manner of Paul, a sin; yea, such a sin that those born therein are God's enemies and adversaries, for they are brought thereto by the condition of nativity, not by the perpetration of crime, unless so far as their first parent has perpetrated it.

The true cause, therefore, of the hostile conduct and death is the crime and wicked deed perpetrated by Adam. But this is truly sin. Yet it is such sin as clings to us, and is truly a disease and a condition; yea,

a necessity of death. Nevertheless, this would never have occurred by nativity, unless crime had depraved the nativity ; therefore, the cause of human calamity is crime, and not nativity ; it pertains to nativity no otherwise than as that which proceeds from a source and cause. The confirmation of this opinion is supported by authority and example. Paul, in the fifth chapter of Romans, says : "If by one man's sin death reigned, by one," etc. Here we see that sin is properly understood. For Adam is the one by whose fault death hangs upon our shoulders. In the third chapter he says : "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," *i. e.*, the goodness and liberality of God. Here sin is understood as disease, condition and nativity, so that we all are said to sin even before we come forth to the light ; *i. e.*, we are in the condition of sin and death even before we sin in act. This opinion is irrefragably based upon the words of the same fifth chapter of Romans : "Death reigned from Adam unto Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." So death is ours, even though we have not sinned as Adam. Why? Because he sinned. But why does death ravage us when we have not sinned in this way? Because he died on account of sin, and, having died, *i. e.*, being condemned to death, he begat us. Therefore we also die, but by his guilt, yet by our own condition and disease, or, if you prefer, by our sin, improperly so-called. An example is as follows : A captive in war by his perfidy and hostility has deserved to be held as a slave. Moreover, his descendants become native slaves, not by their fault, or guilt, or crime, but by their condition which has followed a fault ; for the parent of whom they have been born has merited it by his crime. The

children have no crime, but the punishment and penalty of the crime — namely, the condition, servitude, and workhouse.

If it be pleasing to call these a crime because they are inflicted for crime, I do not forbid. I acknowledge that this original sin, by condition and contagion, belongs by birth to all who are born from the love of man and woman; and I know that we are by nature the children of wrath, but I doubt not that we are received among the sons of God by grace, which through the second Adam, Christ, has restored what was lost in the fall. But this occurs in the following manner:

Fifthly.—Hence it is evident, if in Christ, the second Adam, we are restored to life, as in the first Adam we were delivered to death, that in condemning children born of Christian parents, nay, even the children of heathen, we are inconsiderate. For if by sinning, Adam could ruin the entire race, and Christ by dying did not quicken and redeem the entire race from the calamity given by the former, the salvation given by Christ is no longer the same, and in like manner (which be it far from us to assert) is not true: "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." But in whatever way this must be declared of the infants of the heathen, this we must certainly maintain that by virtue of the salvation procured through Christ, it is irrelevant to pronounce them subject to an eternal curse, not only on account of the cause of restoration mentioned, but on account of God's free election, which does not follow faith, but faith follows election; of which we will treat in the article that follows. For those who have been elected from eternity have undoubtedly been elected even before faith. Therefore those who because of their age have not faith, should not be inconsiderately

condemned by us; for although they do not as yet have it, yet God's election has been hidden from us; if before Him they be elect, we judge precipitantly of what is unknown. But nevertheless of the infants of Christians we declare otherwise — viz., that as many as are infants of Christians are of the Church of God's people and are parts and members of His Church. This we prove in this way: It has been promised by the testimonies of almost all the prophets that the Church is to be assembled from the heathen into the Church of God's people. Christ Himself says: "They shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob"; and: "Go ye into the world," etc. But to the Church of the Jews their infants belonged equally as the Jews themselves. Therefore our infants belong to Christ's Church no less than, in former times, did those of the Jews; for if it were otherwise the promise would not have been fulfilled, as then we would not sit down equally with God as did Abraham. For he was reckoned in the Church with those also who were born of him according to the flesh. But if our children were not thus enumerated with the parents, Christ would be sordid and hostile to us in denying us what He had given to the ancients. It is godless to say this, for otherwise the entire prophecy concerning the call of the Gentiles would be vain. Therefore, since the infants of Christians, no less than the adults, are members of the visible Church of Christ, it is manifest that they are no less than the parents of the number of those whom we judge elect. How godlessly and presumptuously, therefore, do they judge who execrate the infants of Christians, when so many clear testimonies of Scripture contradict, which declare that from the heathen there will be not merely an equal, but even

a larger Church than from the Jews. All this will be plainer when we explain our faith concerning the Church.

Sixthly.— Of the Church, therefore, we thus think — viz., that in the Scriptures the word "Church" is received in various significations. It is received for the elect who have been predestinated by God's will to eternal life. Of this Paul speaks when he says that it has neither wrinkle nor spot. This is known to God alone, for, according to the word of Solomon, He alone knows the hearts of the children of men. But, nevertheless, those who are members of this Church, since they have faith, know that they themselves are elect and are members of this first Church, but are ignorant of the members other than themselves. For thus it is written in Acts: "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." Therefore, those who believe are ordained to eternal life. But no one, save he who truly believes, knows who truly believe. Here, therefore, he is already certain that he is elect of God. For, according to the Apostle's word, he has the seal of the Spirit, espoused and sealed, by which he knows that he is truly free, made a son of the family, and not a slave. For the Spirit cannot deceive. If He tells us that God is our Father, and we with certainty and confidence call Him Father, secure of eternal inheritance, it is certain that God's Spirit has been shed abroad in our hearts. It is therefore certain that he is elect who is so secure and safe, for they who believe are ordained to eternal life. Yet many are elect who as yet have no faith. For were not the mother of God, John, and Paul, while still infants, and even before the foundation of the world, elect? But this they knew neither from faith nor from revelation. Were not Matthew, Zacchæus, the penitent

thief, and Magdalene elect before the foundation of the world? Nevertheless, they were ignorant of this until they were illumined by God's Spirit and drawn to Christ by the Father. From these facts, therefore, it is inferred that this first Church is known to God alone, and that they only who have firm and unwavering faith know that they are its members.

Again, the Church is understood in a universal sense for all who are reckoned by Christ's name; *i. e.*, who have enlisted under Christ, a large number of whom sensibly acknowledge Christ by confession or participation in the sacraments, and yet in heart either are averse to Him or ignorant of Him. We believe, therefore, that all who confess Christ's name belong to this Church. Thus Judas and all who have withdrawn from Christ belonged to Christ's Church. For by the Apostles Judas was regarded as belonging to Christ's Church no less than Peter or John, although most remote from it. But Christ knew who were His and who were the devil's. This Church, therefore, is perceptible to sense, however improperly in this world the term be used; viz., all who confess Christ, although among them are many reprobates. For Christ has depicted this in the charming parable of the Ten Virgins, some of whom were wise and others foolish. This is also sometimes called elect, although not that first elect which is without spot; but as in man's judgment it is the Church of God, because of its confession which is perceptible to sense, thus in the same way is it called elect. For we judge that they who have enlisted under Christ are faithful and elect. Thus Peter spake: "To the elect scattered abroad throughout Pontus," etc. Here by "elect" he means all who belonged to the churches to which he is writing, and not those only who were properly elect of God;

for, as they were unknown to Peter, he could not have written to them.

Lastly on this point.— The Church is received for every particular congregation of this universal and perceptible Church, as the Church of Rome, of Augsburg, of Lyons. There are also other acceptations of "The Church," which it is not worth while to enumerate here. Here, therefore, I believe that there is one Church of those who have the same Spirit, who testifies to them that they are true children of God's family ; and this is the first-fruits of the Church. I believe that this does not err in regard to the truth — namely, in those first foundations of the faith upon which everything depends. I believe also that there is one universal perceptible Church while it maintains that true confession of which we have already spoken. I believe also that all belong to this Church who enter into it according to the command and promise of God's Word. I believe also that to this Church belong the infants Isaac, Jacob, Judah, and all who were of the seed of Abraham, and also those infants whose parents among the first-fruits of the Church, under the preaching of the Apostles, were won to the side of Christ. For if Isaac and the rest of the ancients had not belonged to the Church, they would not have received the Church's token. Since these, then, were members of the Church, infants and children belonged to the primitive Church. Therefore I believe and know that they were sealed with the sacrament of baptism. For infants also confess when they are offered by their parents to the Church, especially since the promise offers them to God, which is made to our infants no less, but even far more amply and abundantly than to the ancient infants of the Hebrews. These are the foundations for baptising and commending infants to the Church, against

which all the weapons and machinations of the Anabaptists can effect nothing. For not only are they to be baptised who believe, but they who confess, and who from the promises of God's Word belong to the Church. For otherwise none of the Apostles would have baptised anyone whatever, since there is certain evidence to none of the Apostles concerning the faith of the one confessing and subscribing. For Simon the imposter, Ananias, Judas, and who not, were baptised when they gave their names, even though they had not faith. On the other hand, Isaac was circumcised as an infant, when he did not give in his name or believe, but the promise gave his name. But since our infants are in the same position as those of the Hebrews, the promise also gives their names to our Church and makes confession. Truly, therefore, baptism just as circumcision (for we are speaking of the sacrament of baptism) requires nothing else than either, on the one hand, confession or the giving in of the name, or, on the other, a covenant or promise. And this will be somewhat clearer from what follows.

Seventhly.—I believe, yea, I know, that all the sacraments are so far from conferring grace that they do not even convey or distribute it. In this matter, most powerful Cæsar, I may seem to thee perhaps too bold. But my opinion is fixed. For as grace is produced or given by the Divine Spirit (for when I use the term "grace" I am speaking the Latin for pardon, *i. e.*, indulgence and gratuitous kindness), so this gift pertains to the Spirit alone.

Moreover, a channel or vehicle is not necessary to the Spirit, for He Himself is the virtue and energy whereby all things are borne, and has no need of being borne; neither do we read in the Holy Scriptures that perceptible

things, as are the sacraments, bear certainly with them the Spirit, but if perceptible things have ever been borne with the Spirit, it has been the Spirit, and not perceptible things, that has borne them. Thus, when the wind is violently agitated language is conveyed by force of the wind; the wind is not conveyed by force of the tongues. Thus, the wind brought quails, and carried away locusts, but no quails or locusts were ever so fleet as to bring the wind. Thus, when such a mighty wind passed before Elijah that it could have even removed the mountains, the Lord was not borne in the wind, etc.

Briefly, the Spirit breathes wherever He wishes; *i. e.*, just as the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, and canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth, so is everyone that is born of the Spirit; *i. e.*, invisibly and imperceptibly illumined and drawn. This the truth spake. Therefore, the Spirit of grace is conveyed not by this mersion, not by this draught, not by this anointing; for if it were thus it would be known how, where, whence, and whither the Spirit is given.

For if the presence and efficacy of grace are bound to the sacraments, they work where these are conveyed; and where these are not applied all things languish. Neither is it the case that theologians allege this as material or subject, because the disposition for this is first required; *i. e.*, because the grace of baptism or the Eucharist (for thus they speak) is conferred on one who is first prepared for this. For he who through the sacraments receives according to them this grace, either prepares himself for this or is prepared by the Spirit. If he prepares himself, we can do something of ourselves, and prevenient grace is nothing. If he be prepared by the

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Spirit for the reception of grace, I ask whether this be done through the sacrament as a channel or without the sacrament? If the sacrament intervene, man is prepared by the sacrament for the sacrament, and thus there will be a process *ad infinitum;* for a sacrament will always be required as a preparation for a sacrament. But if we be prepared without the sacrament for the reception of sacramental grace, the Spirit is present in His kindness before the sacrament, and hence grace is both rendered and is present before the sacrament is administered. From this it is inferred (as I willingly and gladly admit in regard to the subject of the sacraments) that the sacraments are given as a public testimony of that grace which is previously present to every individual. This baptism is administered in the presence of the Church to one who before receiving it either confessed the religion of Christ, or has the word of promise whereby he is known to belong to the Church. Hence it is that when we baptise an adult we ask him whether he believes. If he answer, Yea, then at length he receives baptism. Faith, therefore, has been present before he receives baptism. Faith, then, is not given in baptism. But when an infant is offered the question is asked whether its parents offer it for baptism. When they reply through witnesses that they wish it baptised, the infant is baptised. Here also God's promise precedes, that He regards our infants as belonging to the Church no less than those of the Hebrews. For when they who are of the Church offer it, the infant is baptised under the law that since it has been born of Christians it is regarded by the divine promise among the members of the Church. By baptism, therefore, the Church publicly receives one who had previously been received through grace. Baptism, therefore, does not bring grace, but

testifies to the Church that grace has been given for him to whom it is administered.

I believe, therefore, O Emperor, that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing—*i. e.*, of grace that has been given. I believe that it is a visible figure or form of invisible grace—viz., which has been provided and given by God's bounty ; *i. e.*, a visible example which presents an analogy to something done by the Spirit. I believe that it is a public testimony. As when we are baptised the body is washed with the purest element, but by this it is signified that by the grace of divine goodness we have been drawn into the assembly of the Church and God's people, wherein we ought to live pure and guiltless. Thus Paul explains the mystery in Romans vi. He testifies, therefore, that he who receives baptism is of the Church of God, which worships its Lord in integrity of faith and purity of life. For this reason the sacraments, which are holy ceremonies (for the Word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament), should be religiously cherished, *i. e.*, highly valued, and should be treated with respect ; for while they are unable to give grace they nevertheless associate visibly with the Church, us who have previously been received into it invisibly ; and this should be esteemed with the highest devotion when declared and published in their administration, together with the words of the divine institution. For if we think otherwise of the sacraments, as that when externally used they cleanse internally, Judaism is restored, which believed that crimes were expiated, and grace, as it were, purchased and obtained, by various anointings, ointments, offerings, victims, and banquets. Nevertheless, the prophets, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, always most steadfastly urged in their teaching that the promises and benefits of God are given by God's liberality, and not

with respect to merits or external ceremonies. I believe also that the Anabaptists in denying baptism to the infants of believers are entirely wrong; and not here only, but also in many other things, of which there is no opportunity to speak. To avoid their folly or malice, relying upon God's aid, and not without danger, I have been the first to teach and write against them, so that now, by God's goodness, this pestilence among us has greatly abated; so far am I from receiving, teaching, or defending anything of this seditious faction.

Eighthly.—I believe that in the holy Eucharist— *i. e.*, the supper of thanksgiving — the true body of Christ is present by the contemplation of faith; *i. e.*, that they who thank the Lord for the kindness conferred on us in His Son acknowledge that He assumed true flesh, in it truly suffered, truly washed away our sins in His own blood; and thus everything done by Christ becomes present to them by the contemplation of faith. But that the body of Christ in essence and really— *i. e.*, the natural body itself — is either present in the supper or masticated with our mouth or teeth, as the Papists and some who long for the flesh-pots of Egypt assert, we not only deny, but firmly maintain is an error opposed to God's Word. This, with the divine assistance, I will in a few words, O Emperor, make as clear as the sun. First, by citing the divine oracles; secondly, by attacking the adversaries with arguments derived therefrom, as with military engines; lastly, by showing that the ancient theologians held our opinion. Thou, meanwhile, Creator Spirit, be present, enlighten the minds of Thy people, and fill with grace and light the hearts that Thou hast created!

Christ Himself, the mouth and the wisdom of God, has said: "The poor always ye have with you, but me ye have not always." Here the presence of the body alone

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is denied, for according to His divinity he is always present, because He is always everywhere, according to His word: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world"; viz., according to divinity, truth, and goodness. Augustine agrees with us. Neither is there any foundation for the assertion of the adversaries that the humanity of Christ is wherever the divinity is, and that otherwise the person is divided; for this would destroy Christ's true humanity.

For nothing but God can be everywhere. And that humanity is in one place, but divinity everywhere, does not thus divide the person; just as the Son's assumption of humanity does not divide the unity of essence. Yea, it would be more effectual for separating unity of essence if one person assumes to itself a creature which the rest do not at all assume, than it is for separating the person, that humanity is in one place, but divinity everywhere, since we see even in creatures that bodies are confined to one place, but their power and virtue are most widely diffused. The sun is an example, whose body is in one place, while his virtue pervades all things. The human soul also surmounts the stars and penetrates hell, but the body is nevertheless in one place.

Again He says: "Again I leave the world, and go to the Father." Here the word "to leave" is used, just as "to have" before, so that the adversaries cannot say, "We do not have Him *visibly*." For when He speaks of the visible withdrawal of His body, He says: "A little while and ye shall not see me," etc. Neither would anything but a delusion be supported if we were to contend that His natural body is present, but invisible. For why would He evade sight when He nevertheless would be here who so often manifested Himself to the disciples after the resurrection? "But it is expedient for you," He says,

"that I go away." But if we were here it would not be expedient that we should not see Him. For as often as the disciples were bewildered at seeing Him, He Himself openly manifested Himself, so that neither sense nor thought might suffer in aught. "Handle me," He says; and, "Touch me not," "I am," etc., and, "Mary, touch me not," etc.

When in departing He commended the disciples to His Father, He said: "I am no more in the world." Here we have in "I am no more in the world" the substantive verb, no less than in the words: "This is my body"; so that the adversaries cannot say that there is a trope here, since they deny that substantives admit of the trope. But the case has no need of such arguments, for there follows: "But these are in the world." The antithesis clearly teaches that He is not, according to His human nature, in the world when His disciples are.

And that we may know when He took his departure—not, as they fabricate rather than explain, when He rendered Himself invisible—Luke says: "While he blessed them he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." He does not say: "He vanished" or "rendered Himself invisible." Of this Mark says: "After the Lord had spoken unto them he was received up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God." He does not say: "He remained here, but rendered His body invisible." Luke again says in Acts: "When he had spoken these things while they beheld, he was taken up and a cloud received him out of their sight." A cloud covered Him, whereof there would have been no need if He had only removed His appearance and otherwise have continued present. Nor would there have been need of removal or elevation. Again: "This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner

as ye have seen him go into heaven." What more clear than this? "From you," he says, "he was taken up"; therefore, He was not with them, either visibly or invisibly, according to His human nature. When, then, we will see Him return as He departed, we will know that He is present. Otherwise He sits, according to His human nature, at the right hand of His Father until He return to judge the quick and the dead.

But since there are some who deprive Christ of place, and say that He is not in a place, let them see how clearly, although with shut eyes, they antagonise the truth. He was in the manger, on the cross, at Jerusalem when His parents were on their journey, in the sepulchre and out of the sepulchre; for the angel says: "He is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him." And that they may not be able to say that His body is everywhere, let them hear: "When the doors were shut, Jesus came and stood in their midst." What need had He of coming if His body is everywhere, but invisibly? It would have been enough not to come, but only as one who was present to manifest Himself.

But let us bid farewell to such sophistical trifles that destroy for us the truth both of Christ's humanity and of the Holy Scriptures. These testimonies deny the presence of Christ's body anywhere else but in heaven by speaking canonically — *i. e.*, so far as the Scripture is manifest with respect to the nature and properties of the assumed body. And whatever contradiction the things which we propose to ourselves concerning God's power compel, yet this must not be so tortured as to compel us to believe that God acts contrary to His Word. For this would belong to impotency, and not to power. Moreover, that the natural body of Christ is not eaten with our mouth, He Himself showed when He said to the Jews

disputing concerning the corporal eating of his flesh: "The flesh profiteth nothing" — viz., for eating naturally, but for eating spiritually much, as it gives life.

"That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." If, therefore, the natural body of Christ is eaten by our mouth, what but flesh will be produced from flesh naturally masticated? And lest the argument should seem unimportant to anyone, let him hear the second part: "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Therefore, that which is spirit is born of the Spirit. If, then, the flesh of Christ is salutary to the soul, it should be eaten spiritually, not carnally. This also pertains to the substance of the sacraments, that Spirit is generated of spirit, and not of any corporeal matter, as we have previously indicated.

Paul teaches that if he once knew Christ according to the flesh, henceforth he will know Him no more according to the flesh.

By these passages we are compelled to confess that the words: "This is my body," should be received not naturally, but figuratively, just as the words: "This is the passover." For the lamb that was eaten every year with the celebration of the festival was not the passover, but signified that the passover and omission had been formerly made. To this is added the succession, since the passover was succeeded by the Lord's Supper, which teaches that Christ used similar words; for succession observes imitation. The same composition of words is an additional argument. So is the time since, at the same Supper, the old passover is discontinued, and the new Eucharist is instituted. The proper signification of all memorials is a further confirmation which gives it its name, whereof they make mention as "commemoration."

Thus the Athenians named σεισάχθεια [disburdening

ordinance], not as though the debt were lowered every year, but because what Solon once did they continually celebrate; and this their celebration they dignify with the name of the thing itself. Thus those things are called the body and blood of Christ which are the symbols of the true body. Now follow the arguments:

As the body cannot be fed upon a spiritual substance, so the soul cannot be fed upon a bodily substance. But if the natural body of Christ is eaten, I ask whether it feed body or soul. Not the body; then the soul. If the soul, then the soul is nourished by meats, and it is not true that Spirit is born only of spirit.

In the second place, I ask: What does the body of Christ render naturally perfect? If the forgiveness of sins, as the one side claims, then the disciples obtained the forgiveness of sins in the Holy Supper, and Christ therefore died in vain. If that which is eaten imparts the virtue of Christ's passion, as the same side claims, then the virtue of the passion and redemption was imparted before it was acquired. If the body is fed for the resurrection, as another very ignorantly asserts, then would it much more heal and relieve of sickness our body. But Irenæus wishes it to be understood otherwise when he says that our body is nourished by Christ's body for the resurrection. For he desires to show that the hope of our resurrection is strengthened by Christ's resurrection. An appropriate figure!

Thirdly.—If the natural body of Christ was given His disciples in the Supper, it necessarily follows that they ate it such as it then was. But it was then susceptible of suffering; they ate, therefore, the vulnerable body, for it was not yet glorified. For when they say: They ate the same body, yet not susceptible to suffering as it was, but the same as it was after the resurrection, we

object. Therefore He either had two bodies, of which one was glorified and the other was not, or the one and the same body was at the same time susceptible and unsusceptible to suffering. Thus, too, since He greatly dreaded death, He was undoubtedly willing not to suffer, and to use that bodily endowment whereby He was free from pain. Therefore He did not truly suffer, but in hypocrisy ; whereby Marcion is recalled by these gladiators. Six hundred arguments, O Emperor, could be adduced, but we are content now with these.

Moreover, that the ancients agree with us on the last part of this article I will establish by two witnesses, and those, too, of the first rank, viz.:

By Ambrose, who in the First Epistle to the Corinthians says concerning "Ye do show forth the Lord's death": "For as by the Lord's death we have been freed, mindful of this, in eating and drinking we declare the flesh and blood that were offered for us," etc. Ambrose, moreover, is speaking of the food and drink of the Supper, and asserts that we declare those very objects that were offered for us.

By Augustine also, who in his thirtieth discourse on John says that the body of Christ that rose from the dead must be in one place. Here the printed copies have "can be" instead of "must be," but incorrectly, for in the Master of "Sentences" [Peter Lombard] and the Canonical Decrees, into which this judgment of Augustine was transferred, the word "must" is read. By this we clearly see that whatever they spake excellently concerning the Supper, they understood not of the natural but of the spiritual eating of Christ's body. For when they knew that the body of Christ must be in one place, and that it is at the right hand of God, they did not withdraw it thence to submit it for mastication by the fetid teeth of men.

Augustine likewise teaches in the twelfth chapter "Against Adimantus" that the three expressions: "The blood is the life," and "This is my body," and "The rock was Christ," were spoken symbolically—*i. e.*, as he himself says, in a figure and figuratively. And among many other things he at length comes to these words: "I can interpret that command as prescribed for a sign. For the Lord did not hesitate to say: 'This is my body' when he gave a sign of his body." Thus far Augustine. Lo, a key for us whereby we can unlock all the declarations of the ancients concerning the Eucharist! That which is only a sign of the body he says is called the body.

Let them who wish go now and condemn us for heresy, while they know that by the same work, contrary to the decrees of the pontiffs, they are condemning the support of theologians. For from these facts it becomes very manifest that the ancients always spoke symbolically when they attributed so much to the eating of the body of Christ in the Supper; viz., not that sacramental manducation could cleanse the soul, but faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which is spiritual manducation, whereof these external things are symbol and shadow. And as bread sustains the body and wine enlivens and exhilarates, thus it strengthens the soul and assures it of God's mercy that He has given us His Son; thus it refreshes the mind by the confidence that, by His blood, the sins with which it was being consumed were destroyed. We will now be content with these passages, although anyone could compile entire volumes in explaining and confirming the fact that the ancients are of our opinion.

Neither can the pamphlet recently published concerning the opinion of the ancients, which it expressly promises to defend, move anyone. For in a short time we

will see the refutation of our very learned brother Œcolampadius, the province of whose exordium it is to insert the opinion of the ancients; and I think that we who are of this opinion have sufficiently exhibited in many volumes, written to different persons, what in this matter can be required for the clearer explanation or confutation of the adversaries.

Ninthly.—I believe that ceremonies which are neither, through superstition, contrary to faith or God's Word (although I do not know whether such be found), can be tolerated by charity until the Day-star arise. But at the same time I believe that by the same charity as mistress the ceremonies mentioned should be abolished when it can be done without great offence, however much they who are of a faithless mind may clamour. For Christ did not prohibit Magdalene from pouring out the ointment, although the avarice and dishonesty of Judas made a disturbance. Images, moreover, that are prostituted for worship, I do not reckon among ceremonies, but among the number of those things that conflict diametrically with God's Word. But I am so far from condemning those that are not offered for worship that I acknowledge both painting and statuary as God's gifts.

Tenthly.—The work of prophecy or preaching I believe to be most holy, so that above any other duty it is in the highest degree necessary. For in speaking canonically or regularly we see that among all nations the outward preaching of evangelists or bishops has preceded faith, which we nevertheless say is received by the Spirit alone. For, alas! We see very many who hear the outward preaching of the Gospel, but believe not, because a dearth of the Spirit has occurred. Whithersoever, then, prophets or preachers, of the Word are sent, it is a sign of God's grace that He wishes to manifest the

knowledge of Himself to His elect ; and where they are denied, it is a sign of impending wrath. This can be inferred from the prophets and the example of Paul, who was sometimes forbidden to go to some and at other times was called. But the laws themselves and the magistrates can be assisted in maintaining public justice by no means more effectually than by prophecy. For in vain is that which is just taught unless they upon whom it is enjoined have regard for what is just and love equity. But for this the minds are prepared by the prophets as ministers, and by the Spirit as the author both of teacher and of hearer. This kind of ministers — viz., they who teach, console, terrify, care for, and faithfully watch — we acknowledge among Christ's people. That also we acknowledge which baptises, administers in the Lord's Supper the body and blood (for thus we also by metonymy name the holy bread and wine of the Supper), visits the sick, and feeds the poor from the resources and in the name of the Church ; that, finally, which reads, interprets, and makes confession of that whereby either they themselves or others are prepared for presiding at some time over the churches. But this mitred and withered race, which is a large number, born to consume food, we believe is a useless, spurious weight upon the earth, and that it is in the ecclesiastical, what humpbacks and scrofula are in the human body.

Eleventhly.—I know that the magistrate, when properly inaugurated, holds God's place no less than the prophet. For as a prophet is a minister of heavenly wisdom and goodness, as he faithfully teaches and brings errors to light, so the magistrate is the minister of goodness and justice. He is the minister of goodness, with fidelity and moderation like God, both to hear and to deliberate

upon the affairs of the people—of justice, to restrain the wantonness of the ungodly and to guard the innocent. If a prince have these endowments, I believe that his conscience has nothing to fear. If he lack these, and yet render himself an object of fear and terror, I believe that his conscience can in no way be cleared upon the ground that he has been properly inaugurated. Yet, at the same time, I believe that a Christian should obey such a tyrant, even to the occasion whereof Paul says: "If thou mayst be made free, use it rather." Nevertheless, I believe that this is indicated by God alone, and not by man; and this not obscurely, but as openly as when Saul was rejected and received David as successor. And with Paul I think concerning rendering tribute and custom for protection, Romans, xiii.

Twelfthly.—I believe that the figment of the purgatorial fire is as detrimental to the gratuitous redemption bestowed through Christ as it was lucrative to its authors. For if it is necessary by punishments and tortures to expiate the merits of our crimes, Christ will have died in vain and faith will have been made void. What more wicked in a Christian can be imagined? Or what sort of Christ do they have who wish to be called Christians and yet dread this fire, which is no longer fire, but smoke? That there is a hell where the faithless and ignominious and public enemies are punished with Ixion and Tantalus I not only believe, but know. For when the truth speaks of the universal judgment, it asserts that after this judgment some will go into everlasting fire. After the universal judgment, therefore, there will be everlasting fire. That this is endless eternity the Anabaptists cannot disguise by their error that "for ever" does not last beyond the general judgment. For here Christ is speaking of everlasting fire that will burn after the

judgment, and will torture the devil and his angels, and the ungodly who despise God, and the cruel who suppress the truth with falsehood and do not mercifully and faithfully aid the necessities of their neighbour.

The above I firmly believe, teach, and maintain, not from my own oracles, but from those of the Divine Word ; and, God willing, I promise to do this as long as life controls these members, unless someone from the declarations of Holy Scripture, properly understood, explain and establish the reverse as clearly and plainly as we have established the above. For it is no less grateful and delightful than fair and just for us to submit our judgments to the Holy Scriptures, and the Church deciding according to them by the Spirit. We could explain all things more amply, but since there is no occasion, we are content with the above, which we regard such that while at them anyone can readily carp, as is so customary to-day, yet no one can overthrow. But if anyone make the attempt he will not escape unpunished. Then perhaps we will produce the arms we have in reserve. Now we have declared enough for the present.

Wherefore, most excellent Emperor and other princes, rulers, nobles, and deputies, and heads of States, I beseech and implore you, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Brother, by His goodness and justice, by the verdict which He will render all according to their merits, whom no deliberation escapes, who brings to confusion the designs of princes that take counsel and rule godlessly, who exalts the humble and abases the proud, in the first place not to neglect the lowliness of the petitioner. For the foolish often have spoken opportunely, and the truth itself chooses for its publication weak men and those of the lowest class. Secondly, remember that you too are men,

who yourselves also are capable of being deceived by others. For every man is a liar. And unless something else be taught by inspiration of God than what he himself either knows or desires, nothing is to be hoped of him than that he will be destroyed by his own arts and plans. For with too much truth the prophet Jeremiah has said: "Lo, they have rejected the Word of the Lord; and what wisdom is in them?" Wherefore, since ye are the priests of justice, none are so bound to thoroughly learn God's will. But whence can this be sought but from His oracles? Be not averse, therefore, to the opinions of those who rely upon God's Word. For we see it generally happen that the more adversaries assail the truth, so much the more does it shine forth and is falsehood banished. But if, as it does not escape me, there are those with you who zealously defame us as ignorant, and, if God please, also as malicious, consider, in the first place, whether we who adopt this view of the Gospel and the Eucharist, have ever so conducted our lives that any good man would ever doubt as to whether we should be regarded as among good men. Secondly, whether from our very infancy talent and literary culture were so distant from us that all hope of our learning had to be rejected. Certainly we boast of neither of these, since even Paul was what he was by the grace of God. If even a very cheerful life has been our lot, nevertheless this has never deviated to luxury and shamelessness, nor, on the other hand, degenerated into cruelty, arrogance, or obstinacy; so that the designs of our adversaries, often confounded by the testimony of our life, have sounded a retreat. Our learning, although greater than our enemies either could bear or without conscience despise, is, notwithstanding, far less than our followers think we possess. However, that we may reach that

towards which we are aiming, we have performed such service, not only in sacred, but also in profane literature, that what we teach is not at random. Let it be permitted us, moreover, to praise the grace and munificence of God so liberally communicated to our churches. The churches that hear the Lord God through us have indeed so received the Word of God that falsehood and dishonesty are diminished, pride and luxury subdued, and reproaches and wrangling have departed. If these are not certainly true fruits of divine inspiration, what will they be? Consider, most excellent Emperor and all ye princes and nobles, what good fruit of human doctrine a person has produced for us. As the purchased masses increased the lust and impudence of both princes and people, so they both introduced and extended the luxury of the pontiffs and the excesses of the ministrants of the mass. Yea, what crime did they not kindle? For who will scatter the wealth accumulated by the mass if it be not stopped and held fast in their veins?

May God, therefore, who is far better than you all, whom we gladly both call and believe to be most excellent men, grant that you may undertake to extirpate the roots of all errors in the Church, and to leave and desert Rome with her rubbish that she has obtruded upon the Christian world, and especially upon your Germany.

Whatever force, too, you have heretofore exerted against the purity of the Gospel may you direct against the criminal attempts of ungodly Papists, that justice to us which has been banished by your indifference, and our innocence which has been obscured by artful misrepresentations, may be established. Enough cruelty has been exercised, unless it be not savage and cruel without a just ground to make charges, to condemn—ay, to slaughter, kill, rob, interdict. Since success has not

followed efforts made in this way, the attempt must certainly be made in another way. If this counsel is of the Lord, do not fight against God; but if from elsewhere, it will perish by its own rashness. For this reason permit God's Word to be freely disseminated and to germinate, ye sons of men, who can forbid not even a grain from growing. You see that this seed is abundantly watered by the rain from heaven, neither can it be checked by any heat from men so as to become parched.

Consider not what you most of all desire, but what the world requires in regard to the Gospel. Take this, such as it is, in good part, and by your disposition show that you are childen of God.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI.

Most devoted to your Majesty and all believers.

ZURICH, July 3, 1530.

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E

Eck, Johannes, born at Eck, Swabia, November 13, 1486; studied at Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Freiburg, became professor of theology at Ingolstadt, 1510; vigorously and learnedly opposed the Reformation, frequently as a public disputant, died at Ingolstadt, Bavaria, February 10, 1543, 139, 140, 143, 145, 185, 271, 273, 274, 276, 280, 320, 332
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Emser, Jerome, born at Ulm, 1477; professor in Erfurt; since 1510 lived in Dresden; earnest opponent of the Reformation; died in Dresden, November 8, 1527, 227, 230
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Erasmus of Rotterdam, born there, 1467; educated at the monastery of Steyn, Holland; began in Paris his career as humanist which was to result in making him the literary king of papal Europe, 1492; led a wandering life the rest of his days, being in England, France, Italy, Germany, and finally in Switzerland, but one of incessant and most useful literary activity; died in Basel, 1536, 78–81, 86, 87, 93, 121, 135, 145, 159, 197, 213–217, 219–221, 269; on Free Will, 368
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F

Faber Johannes (properly Heigerlin), born at Leutkirch, near Lake Constance, 1478; studied at Tübingen and Freiburg; became vicar-general of Constance, 1516; vigorously and skilfully opposed the Reformation, wrote *Malleus in hæresim Lutheranam*, 1524, whence came his epithet, "Hammer of the Heretics," became bishop of Vienna, 1530; died near there, May 21, 1541, 106, 125, 127, 143, 179, 185, 187–189, 191, 193, 273, 274, 289
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Haller, Berthold, the Reformer of Bern, born at Aldingen, Würtemberg, 1492; became people's priest at Bern, 1520; openly joined the Reformers, 1522; died in Bern, Switzerland, February 25, 1536, 56, 60, 64, 165, 170, 274, 281
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Hedio, Caspar, born at Ettlingen, Baden, 1493; studied theology at Freiburg and Basel, became preacher in the Strassburg cathedral, 1523; active in introducing the Reformation; died there October 17, 1552, 108, 156, 215, 313, 314, 318
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Jonas, Justus, born at Nordhausen, June 5, 1493; intimate friend of Luther's; provoost of Wittenberg, 1521–1541; died at Eisfeld, October 9, 1555, 314, 318
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Jud, Leo, born at Gemar, Elsass, 1482; studied at Basel, became people's priest at Einsiedeln, 1518; of St. Peter's, Zurich, 1522; died there June 19, 1542, 60, 120, 194, 195, 202, 206, 236, 243, 253–255, 293, 335–339
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Luther, Martin, born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483; studied at Erfurt; became an Augustinian monk there, 1505; professor at Wittenberg, 1508; posted ninety-five Theses on Indulgences for university disputation, 1517; thus entered on career as Reformer; died at Eisleben, February 18, 1546, 50, 56, 59, 108, 129, 130, 139–143, 145, 147–149, 155, 156,

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Megander, Caspar, born at Zurich, 1495; studied at Basel, became preacher in Zurich, accepted the Reformation, became professor of theology at Bern, 1528; returned to Zurich, 1537; became *dekan* of the Great Minster, died there August 18, 1545, 64, 253, 255, 335
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Melanchthon, Philip, born at Bretten in Baden, February 16, 1497; studied at Heidelberg and Tübingen; became professor at Wittenberg, 1518; died there April 19, 1560, 85, 179, 212, 227, 300, 307, 314, 316, 319, 320, 330, 350
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Myconius, Oswald, Zwingli's friend and biographer, born at Luzern, Switzerland, 1488; taught there and at Zurich, became pastor and professor at Basel in 1532, and died there October 14, 1552, 53, 56–58, 64, 66, 82, 85, 89, 90, 117–119, 122, 123, 130, 135, 136, 141, 143, 145, 147, 153, 156, 164, 168, 169, 214, 234, 253, 254, 275, 293, 357

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Œcolampadius (Græcised from Heussgen, same as Hausschein), Johannes, born at Weinsberg, Würtemberg, 1482; studied at Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Stuttgart, became preacher at Basel, 1516; at Augsburg, 1518; monk at Altenmünster; declared him-

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self for the Reformation, went to Basel, 1522, where he was professor of theology, preacher in the cathedral, and Reformer, and where he died November 24, 1531, 179, 215, 221, 237, 242, 248, 258, 269, 272, 274, 275, 280, 307–309, 313–315, 317–322, 324, 330, 335, 348–350
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